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FROM

ENGLISH HISTORY.

(SIXTH SERIES.)

FORTY YEARS OF STEWART RULE.

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CAMEOS

FROM

ENGLISH HISTORY.

FORTY YEARS OF STEWART RULE.
(1603—1643.)

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BY THE AUTHOR OF

THE HEIR OF REDCLYFFE.

SIXTH SERIES.

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RICHARD CLAY AND SONS,
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PREFACE.

I HAD hoped to make this Part include all the Wars of Religion; but events and memoirs are overpowering here, and our own Civil War must be left for the next of the series.

C. M. YONGE.

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CAMEOS

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CAMEO I.

THE SCOT.

(1603—1604.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1589. Henry IV.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1592. Clement VIII.

CAMEO I.

The end of a dynasty.

WHEN the last of the Tudor race passed away, a change came over the whole character of English history. The government by personal ascendency was over. There was to the full as much desire to enforce the supremacy of the Crown as ever, nay, probably a more absolute belief in *it*; but the instinct that made the sovereign one with the nation had passed away. There was no more leading in defiance of all checks and barriers, but no sooner did the country feel any opposition between its will and that of royalty than these safeguards were sought out, and the power of refusal was found.

The spirit of opposition was on the English side greatly owing to the new King being Scottish, almost a foreigner in speech, and of a nation hitherto looked on with strong dislike. Moreover, instead of a Queen who, up to the last year of her life, was regarded with pride, enthusiasm, and chivalrous deference, the new King was one whom it was much easier to laugh at than to admire, and who by no means did justice to the better qualities that he really possessed.

CAMEO I.
Machiavellism.

It was a time when the intellectual capacity of the English nation, and likewise its standard of moral principle, was exceedingly high. Court policy had been so corrupted by Machiavelli, that statesmanship was eminently dishonourable, and falsehood was regarded as its natural instrument; but these ideas had not tainted the principles of the nation, and the standard maintained by Bacon, Shakespeare, and Spenser in their writings is wonderfully high and pure. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were in the height of their prime, and these, and such playwrights as Massinger, Beaumont, and Fletcher provided amusement for a people whose capacities must have been considerable to meet such performances with any kind of appreciation.

Education had made considerable progress, and a gentleman was expected to be a good classical scholar, a theologian, and to have some knowledge of French, Italian, and music. Merchants and superior tradesmen—such as aspired to civic dignities—were also well educated; and the universities were making great advances, especially in the study of Greek. Ladies' knowledge varied from considerable attainments to mere housewifery; but the younger generation were, on the whole, less learned than that which had grown up with the Queen; and, in spite of the new King's high attainments, the pendulum was beginning to swing in the direction of frivolity. The men and women whose company Elizabeth had enjoyed were well read in several languages, able to understand and make allusions through a really extensive range of literature, to sustain sharp conflicts of wit with opposing proverbs, and to make and appreciate repartee and retort.

James, on the contrary, liked to have the learning all to himself, to be admired and complimented, and to lay down the law when it pleased him, without an answer, and his jokes and amusements were silly and practical; while his Queen was simply a frivolous and somewhat querulous woman, with a turn for amusement and display, such as had found small scope in the poverty-stricken Court of Holyrood, so jealously watched by the General Assembly.

The news that this disturbed and cramped life was ended, and that the peace and wealth of the English crown was theirs, was brought by Sir Robert Carey, who had long ago received from James a sapphire ring, which was to be restored to him as a token that the Queen was really dead—since it was needful to take measures promptly to secure the succession, and yet not to act prematurely on a false report, so as to anger the jealous Elizabeth.

Lady Scrope, to whom Sir Robert committed the ring, dropped it from the window as soon as she was convinced that the Queen had really expired. This was in the early darkness of the morning of Thursday, the 24th of March; and after looking into one of the chambers, and finding all the ladies weeping bitterly, Carey galloped off, and having already prepared relays of horses, reached Norham Castle at noonday on Saturday. He expected to have reached Edinburgh by supper-time, but he had a bad fall by the way, and bled a good deal, so that he was

CAMEO I.

Accession of James I. 1603.

forced to ride softly, and did not arrive at Holyrood till the King was just gone to bed. Without washing the blood from his face, he asked and obtained admittance to the bed-chamber, where he knelt and saluted James as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

James held out his hand to be kissed, bade his new subject welcome, and inquired into particulars of the Queen's sickness and death, asking what letters he brought from the Privy Council. Carey said that he had none, but that he had a blue ring from a fair lady, which he hoped was a token that he spoke the truth. James took it, looked at it, and said, "It is enough. I know by this that you are a true messenger."

Then he put Carey into the care of Lord Hume, desiring that he should want for nothing, and that his hurts should be looked to, and added, "I know you have lost a near kinswoman and a loving mistress, but here, take my hand; I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward."

In fact, Carey was made a gentleman of the bedchamber, though he was disappointed that more was not done for him. He incurred displeasure from the Privy Council for his officious haste in outstripping their messenger, who had been sent off in the morning of the 24th, just as James was proclaimed in London. An official invitation to come to England was sent, together with the tidings of the Queen's death, and James at once prepared to accept it, leaving his family behind until he should have tried the temper of his new subjects. Young Henry, hitherto Duke of Rothsay, but now to be Prince of Wales, was in Stirling Castle with his guardians of the house of Mar. He was ten years old, and the letter his father wrote to him was a really excellent one: "Let not this news make you proud or insolent, for a King's son ye were, and no more are you yet: the augmentation that is hereby like to fall to you is but in cares and heavy burthen. Be merry, but not insolent; keep a greatness, but *sine fastu*; be resolute, but not wilful; be kind, but in honourable sort."

Therewith the King sent Henry his *Basilicon Doron* or royal gift, a book of maxims and reflections on government, which he had worked out and compiled, and where is much evidence of thought and good intention, though the underlying principle of absolutism was fraught with danger, as was also the unfortunate belief that falsehood and stratagem were allowable instruments of government. There was also an expression of inclination to toleration, which greatly angered his Presbyterian subjects and gave hope to the Roman Catholics.

After all, the Scots were unwilling to part with their King; feeling, perhaps, that, though their kingdom gained in dignity, yet, when their master was out of reach, and could no longer be bullied or kidnapped whenever he displeased them, they might lose some of what they viewed as their privileges. On the Sunday intervening between his accession and departure, he and his Queen went together to St. Giles's Cathedral

CAMEO I.

James's journey. 1603.

at Edinburgh, where, after hearing a sermon, James stood up in his place, and delivered to his people a long and most piteous farewell, which set them all weeping and wailing, so that the building echoed with lamentation.

On the 5th of April James set forth, leaving his Queen to follow in twenty days' time, if he found all peaceful. She took leave of him in the High Street of Edinburgh, and both shed tears, while the spectators in the street and from the windows, likewise sobbed and wept! At Berwick-upon-Tweed, the first fortress belonging to the English Crown, the new King was received with a tremendous peal of ordnance; and at every halting-place, in city or in country house, there were huge festivals and hospitalities on the mightiest scale. At one banquet there appeared two roasted wild boars harnessed to a mighty plum pudding shaped like a waggon. The country gentlemen vied with one another in the quantity, quality, and pageantry of their reception, and among them were specially observed the festivities offered by a midland county knight, Sir Oliver Cromwell. Large gifts were offered at each place, which must have been wonderfully delightful to a King who recently had had to borrow a pair of silk stockings; but nothing charmed him so much as the parks laid out and inclosed for hunting. The sport was his great delight, and he had never been able to enjoy it with such ease or to such perfection. His ministers complained that he could hardly attend to business for his absorption in this enjoyment. The people were enthusiastic in their reception of him, and at every halting-place came in throngs, throwing up their caps, blessing and praying aloud for him, not at all daunted by his extremely awkward and uncouth demeanour, his thick speech, with a tongue too large for his mouth, and in broad Scotch, his shambling gait from a weakness of limbs that made him always fain to lean on other men, his large rolling eyes, his shabby garments wadded, and stuffed for fear of assassination, and his continual habits of profane language and drinking—but not in great riotous excesses, but continual sipping of a few spoonfuls of liquor. The love of novelty, the expectation of benefits from a new reign, and a certain national pride in the possession of the whole island, made every one rush forth to welcome the new King and fresh dynasty.

There had been two distinct parties in England, kept down by Elizabeth's strong hand. One comprised many of the old nobility, such as Southampton, Northumberland, Henry and Thomas Howard, and all who were discontented with the rise of new men. The other comprised Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey of Wilton, Lord Cobham, Lord Mountjoy, and those who had surrounded the Queen in her latter days, and excited so much indignation on the part of Essex. Sir Robert Cecil had been always supposed to be of this faction, but he had secretly corresponded with James, and knowing him to be persuaded that the first-mentioned party were the best friends of the Crown, the wily secretary was determined, if necessary, to throw the others over, and at any price win the ear of the sovereign.

As to actual policy, there was not much real difference of opinion. All Englishmen were disposed to war with Spain, but the habit of plotting, and still more of making profit out of the intrigues of foreign ambassadors, was so strong in each party, that the chief game seemed to be who would detect his adversary.

James travelled at the rate of about fifteen miles a day. He had written to release the Earl of Southampton from the Tower, and desire that he would come to meet him at York. Sir Robert Cecil also met him there, and so did Lords Grey and Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh; but James, who esteemed Essex his friend and these later favourites of Elizabeth as his enemies, was gracious to no one save Cecil. Indeed, he received Sir Walter with the words, "By my soul, mon, I have been heard but rawley of thee!" He deprived the knight of his offices of Captain of the Guard and Warden of the Stanneries, though leaving him the Governorship of Jersey. Cecil seems to have explained to the new King what were the powers of the sovereign, and he was much delighted, exclaiming, "Do I make the judges? Do I make the bishops? Then I make what likes me in law and Gospel!" At any rate he made plenty of knights. Queen Elizabeth had been chary of this honour, wishing it to be still a real one, earned by merit or station, but James seems to have knighted almost every country gentleman who came to welcome him, and the fees, which were very heavy, must have assisted to fill the royal purse.

Cecil sumptuously entertained the King at Theobalds, his house in Hertfordshire, and showed him such good sport that the King privately set his heart on the possession of the place as a hunting seat. He stayed there four days, during which he arranged his new Privy Council, retaining Cecil, Nottingham, two more Howards, Buckhurst, Mountjoy, and Egerton, and adding four Scotchmen, Lennox, Mar, two Humes, Bruce of Kinloss, besides his secretary Elphinstone. All licences and monopolies were suspended till they could be examined into, but unfortunately they were bestowed more lavishly than ever. Young Robert Devereux's attainder was reversed, and he was permitted to assume his father's title; Mountjoy and the Howards became Earls; Cecil, Lord Cecil, afterward Viscount Cranbourne, and finally Earl of Salisbury; nine barons were created, and English peerages were conferred on several Scottish favourites. Altogether there was sixty-two new titles of nobility conferred, and 700 knights were made, so that a wag fastened a paper to the door of St. Paul's, offering to give lessons in the titles of the new nobility.

James was received at Stamford Hill by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and conducted by an ingeniously-managed stag-hunt to the Charterhouse, whence he repaired to the Tower and Whitehall, and thus had taken full and complete possession of his kingdom.

James soon found himself in need of the presence of the Earl of Mar, his faithful Johnnie Sclaites, who had negotiated with the English when sent to London on the warning of Essex. No sooner had the Earl

CAMEO I.
Anne of Denmark.
1603.

quitted Scotland than Queen Anne, who was always jealous of the custody of her eldest son being committed to his family, set forth with many armed gentlemen for Stirling, and summoned the Dowager Countess of Mar to yield up the Prince. The old lady, who had been the faithful and resolute guardian of the King through all the storms of his youth, refused to surrender him, or to admit the armed followers into her castle, without warrant under the King's own hand, saying she durst not disobey the commands she had received to give him to none but his father. Anne threw herself into such furious fits of rage, that the birth of a dead babe was the consequence, and the Privy Council of Scotland, Lady Mar, and all the rest, wrote letters in much trouble to excuse themselves from the blame of this disaster. King James, who loved her devotedly, was in so much consternation, that he sent the Duke of Lennox back to meet Mar on his road with a letter desiring him to give up the boy to his mother.

But Anne so hated the Earl, that on the very mention of his name she had another paroxysm of rage which nearly cost her her life, and she refused to receive her son, if he was to be brought to her by Mar. She refused to see the Earl, or to travel from Stirling to Edinburgh, either with or without the Prince, if his guardian was to be in the company; while orders from the King bore that Mar was only to give up the Prince on arriving at Holyrood. The Queen was absurd enough to plead her royal birth as a reason for her having her own way, but being relieved from his fears for her life, James was now thoroughly angered by her perverseness. He swore many oaths, and wrote sharply to her that his love and respect were towards her "as my wife and the mother of my children, not for that ye are a king's daughter; for, quither ye were a king's or a cook's daughter, ye must be alike to me, being once my wife. For the respect of your honourable birth and descent I married you, but the love and respect I now bear you is because ye are my married wife, and so partaker of my honour as of my other fortunes."

The unreasonable woman still insisted that the house of Mar should be punished, or that the Earl should ask her pardon on his knees, which "Johnnie Sclaites" most decidedly refused to do and the King to request of him, telling Anne that she might be thankful to the Earl's good management that she was Queen of England at all; upon which she responded that she would rather never see England at all than be beholden to the Earl of Mar.

James so far gave way that he caused the boy to be delivered to the Duke of Lennox to be taken to his mother. The Lady Elizabeth, who was two years younger, was placed under the charge of Lord Harrington to accompany the Queen to England, but "Babie Charles," now Duke of York, was too weakly to take the journey, and was left at Dunfermline under Lord Fife, who wrote that "he was far better of yet of his mind and tongue that of his bodie and feet."

James had sent off a bevy of ladies with a selection from Queen

CAMEO I.

Welcome of the queen, 1603.

Elizabeth's dresses and jewels to meet the new comers at Berwick; but Anne was in the same perverse mood still, and was very uncivil to all except Lady Bedford and Lady Harrington, being bent on keeping her original Scottish household about her, while James, knowing the jealousy this would create, refused to permit their appointment. When she sent her chamberlain Kennedy to be confirmed in his office by the King, James swore at him, and declared that, if he caught the gentleman carrying the staff of office before the Queen, he himself should break it over his pate. Whereupon Kennedy wisely retreated to Scotland.

If we may believe Lady Anne Clifford, the only child and heiress of the sailor Earl of Cumberland, there were reasons why the neighbourhood of the Scottish attendants was not agreeable to the English ladies, who were considerably beyond them in all matters of personal cleanliness and civilisation, even allowing for some prejudice on the part of the outspoken daughter of the Border lord.

At Althorpe, Sir Robert Spenser, who had never recovered his wife's death, would not remain to receive the Queen, but caused Ben Jonson to prepare an exquisite masque wherewith to welcome the new Queen and her young son; her daughter Elizabeth had a day or two before been sent to her intended place of education, Combe Abbey, under charge of Lady Harrington. It was in the dog-days, and the Queen, with a long train of coaches, only arrived in the evening.

As she drove through the park soft music was heard, and a troop of young ladies, clad as fairies, danced out of a thicket, while their leader, Queen Mab, thus addressed Anne of Denmark—

> "Hail and welcome fairest Queen,
> Joy had never perfect been
> To the fays that haunt this green
> Had they not this evening seen.
> Now they print it on the ground
> With their feet in figures round,
> Marks which ever will be found."

Thereupon a Satyr broke in, pointing to Mab, and exclaiming—

> "Trust her not, you bonnie belle
> She will forty leasings tell."

Mab responded—

> "Satyr, we must have a spell
> For your tongue, it runs too fleet;
> I do know your pranks full well."

Satyr.

> "Not so nimbly as your feet,
> When about the creambowls sweet
> You and all the elves do meet.
> This is Mab, the mistress fairy,
> That doth nightly rob the dairy:
> She can start our franklins' daughters
> In their sleep with shrieks and laughters,
> And on sweet St. Agnes' night
> Feed them with a promised sight,
> Some of husbands, some of lovers,
> Which an empty dream discovers."

CAMEO I.
Ben Jonson's masque.
1603.

Mab interrupted his revelations by the command—

"Faires, pinch him black and blue;
Now you have him, make him rue."

Then, having driven him off the field, the Fairy Queen continued—

"Pardon, lady, this wild strain,
Common to the sylvan train
That do skip about this plain.
Elves, apply to your gyre again,
And, whilst some do hop the ring,
Some shall play, while some shall sing
Ariana's welcoming."

The Fairies sang accordingly—

"This is she, this is she,
In whose world of grace,
Every season, every place,
That receives her happy be.
For with no less
Than a kingdom's happiness
Doth she our households bless,
And ours above the rest.
Long live Oriana,
T'exceed whom she succeeds, our late Diana."

Mab then presented the Queen with a jewel, and withdrew, while the Satyr brought forward the young heir of the place, a boy of twelve, leading a dog in a leash, and followed by a band of young gentlemen in forest attire. He too made a speech in verse, and then two bucks were turned out and ran down in full view of the royal guests. Anne, who above all things loved masques and comedy, must have been as much delighted as her husband had been.

Sunday was a quiet day, but on Monday another masque had been prepared by Jonson, the prologue being uttered by Nobody, a figure extinguished in clothes; but the gentry thronged in such numbers to be presented to the Queen and Prince, that the performance had to be cut short.

Unfortunately, Anne showed a young Queen's dislike to the stately old ladies of Elizabeth's Court, and thus impressed them unfavourably even before her arrival at Windsor Castle, where the King met her. Their daughter also joined them there, and a Grand Chapter of the Garter was held, to install young Henry and the Duke of Lennox, and to elect the Queen's brother, King Christiern of Denmark.

The plague was raging in London, and this caused doubts whether the coronation could take place on so appropriate a day as the Feast of St. James, the 25th of July; but a king was not considered as truly a sovereign till he had been anointed, and had received the nobles' oaths of allegiance, and James was doing much to alienate that Protestant party which Elizabeth had thought her strength. He had an unquestionable right to the throne; and his strong opinions on the royal prerogative made him disinclined to the Dutch, viewing them as rebels, as

CAMEO I.

Diplomacy with James. 1603.

indeed he had always shown a bias towards the Spaniards; and though he had done so little to save his mother, he always spoke and thought with the utmost bitterness of those to whom he ascribed her execution, scarcely even hearing of the late Queen with patience.

Of course each foreign power endeavoured to gain his ear. The Dutch sent Prince Frederic of Nassau with John Van Olden Barneveldt and two other distinguished statesmen; the Archduke and Infanata sent Count Aremberg; and two days later came the Baron de Rosny from Henry IV., to assist M. de Beaumont, the resident ambassador. Rosny had had an unpleasant adventure on his way, while crossing from Calais in an English vessel sent on purpose. The French Vice-Admiral, De Vic, who was escorting him, thought proper to hoist the French flag on his main-top. Whereupon the English, who had before been extremely polite to the ambassador, immediately fired on De Vic, and Rosny had great difficulty in pacifying them and inducing De Vic to haul down his flag.

Rosny was received by Sidney and Southampton, and treated with great distinction; but he was not much delighted with the English, of whom he says, "It is certain that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions. It is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride, for no nation in Europe is more haughty and insolent, nor more conceited of its superior excellence."

While waiting for his interview with the King, Rosny consulted with all his fellow and rival ambassadors, and became convinced that James was exceedingly perplexed and irresolute, certainly inclined to peace and hating war, and preferring the Spaniards to the Dutch, but fearing to offend the large party in England who hated and abhorred Spain. This was in the eyes of Rosny a lamentable falling off from the grand alliance he had discussed with Elizabeth; but he did his best. He brought the King a fine, richly-caparisoned horse, also a gentleman named St. Antoine, esteemed the best rider of the time, and who seems to have been disposed of as easily as the horse. To the Queen he gave a large Venetian mirror, in a gold frame, studded with diamonds; and to Prince Henry, a gold lance and jewelled helmet. Gifts were also bestowed on the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Northumberland, and every one, male or female, supposed to have influence; and Rosny had many conferences with Cecil, and finally with James, whom he diligently inspired with a distrust of all such ministers as would end by making him the slave of Spain, as the astute Frenchman said. Finally, James agreed to sign a treaty binding the Kings of France and England to assist the United Provinces with men and money, but secretly, and without an open breach with Spain; but if Philip III. detected them and complained, then to join in open warfare. It was not a particularly honourable treaty in our eyes, but it was a masterpiece according to the notions of the period, and Rosny went home rejoicing in his diplomacy. But one of James's native subjects had given a true character of him to

CAMEO I.
Scotch views of James.

an English inquirer, "Did ye ever see a jackanapes, mon? If so, ye must ken that if ye hold him in your hands, ye can gar him bite me; but, if I hauld him, I can gar him bite you!"

Rosny had had his turn with the jackanapes,—it was Aremberg's turn when he was gone; but he did not come very manifestly forward, being instructed to feel his way, and protract the time, making friends among the Council.

CAMEO II.

THE QUEEN'S OLD COURTIER.

(1603—1604.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1589. Henry IV.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1592. Clement VIII.

Plot of Watson.

PEACE was really what James most cared for, and he therefore attended to Count d'Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in a way that began to alarm the national party. In fact he had given umbrage to many, as of course he could not please all parties at once, and before his accession he had made promises all round. Thus, in the midst of the preparations for his coronation, he found he had by no means escaped from the kidnapping plots that had beset him in Scotland.

The mover in this one seems to have been one William Watson, a secular Roman Catholic priest, who had been made use of in some of the intrigues in Scotland, and expected more favour for his Church than James seemed disposed to show. On the other hand, the Puritans were discontented that the King showed no disposition to overthrow the English Church and reduce it to a level with the Scottish Kirk, and thus an unnatural coalition was brought about between two sets of discontented men, whose only bond of union was equal dislike to the English Church and the notion that the King could be coerced into toleration. On the Romanist side were Sir Griffin Markham and Anthony Copley, but no one of much mark or influence; on the Puritan side, Sir George Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham, partly because he had been disappointed of the mastership of St. Cross, and Lord Grey of Wilton, the son of Spenser's Sir Arthegal, the same foe against whom Essex had run a race on his unfortunate intrusion on Elizabeth. To see Essex' friend, Southampton, in high favour, filled Grey with rage, and he undertook to have a hundred men ready to join the other conspirators in seizing the King at Greenwich; but when they learnt that three hundred armed gentlemen slept in the palace, they put it off till the 24th of June, when James was to be hunting at Hanworth.

CAMEO II.
Detection.
1604.

However, Grey then put off the matter, being, it seems, alarmed at the number of Roman Catholics engaged in it, and beginning to come to the perception that such a combination could not thrive.

Watson, on his side, wanted more aid from the Romanists, and therefore disclosed the scheme to a Jesuit named Gerard, who, seeing at once how futile and foolish it was, made a merit of going and disclosing it to Cecil. Copley was arrested on the 6th of July, and made no secret of his associates. Watson, Clarke, and Brooke were all thrown into prison, and made accusations right and left, including in them Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh. This latter gentleman was waiting on Windsor Terrace, dressed for hunting, with the King, when he was called upon to appear before the Privy Council, and interrogated on the plot and on his friend Cobham's dealings with the Count of Aremberg. He disclaimed all knowledge of both, satisfied the Council so far as appeared, and was placed under no restraint; but he afterwards became uneasy, and, intending to be on the safe side, wrote a letter to Robert Cecil, telling him that he believed there were some dealings with Aremberg, since he had seen, from the window of Durham House, Cobham being rowed across the river to the house of Rienzi, who was known to be an agent of the Flemish Archduke.

"This letter," he afterwards said, "was my utter ruin." It was not the first news that Cecil had received of dealings on Cobham's part with Aremberg; indeed George Brooke had accused both Cobham and Raleigh of a much mightier conspiracy, which was termed in the Council the main plot, while the Watson and Grey affair was only the bye plot. Cecil now showed Cobham Raleigh's letter, which the nobleman considered as such treason to friendship that he began to make the most reckless accusations against Sir Walter, declaring that he had been the instigator of the whole, and had corresponded with Aremberg for the purpose, so far as appeared, of setting Lady Arabella Stewart on the throne, by the help of Spain, and "destroying the King and all his cubs."

They were at once committed to the Tower, and the examinations began, but attention was diverted from this matter by the coronation. The plague was very serious in the city, and the King, though repairing to St. James's Palace, would not go to the Tower, for the usual procession from thence to Westminster, to the great disappointment of the people; and he also forbade the holding of the St. James's fair in the precincts of the palace, and sent orders that the nobles should bring as small retinues as possible, partly from dread of plots, partly to prevent contagion from spreading.

The King and Queen went to Westminster by water, and the Queen was much admired as she went, with her "seemly hair hanging down on her princely shoulders," and "a gold crownet" on her head; but she gave great annoyance by her refusal to communicate after the English rite. Whether she missed the splendid Lutheran ritual of Denmark, or whether she preferred the bare simplicity of Calvinist Scotland, does

not appear; King James's divines considered her doctrine as orthodox, and she afterwards thoroughly conformed. Perhaps, after all, she was in the midst of one of her outbreaks of temper, and refused for personal reasons.

Immediately after the coronation the Court left London, and tarried at Woodstock, where some of their servants died of the plague in the tents at the gateways. However, they kept a brilliant Court, and Aremberg was presented to the Queen, who much preferred him to Rosny. He gave her ladies Spanish gloves, and Spanish leather coats to the gentlemen. Anne also received her brother, Duke Ulrich of Holstein, who paid special court to Lady Arabella Stewart. This lady was treated as a kinswoman by James and Anne, being known to be innocent of any plots hatching in her name. She was lively and full of spirits at this time, and wrote many amusing letters, and she did not at all approve of her Danish suitor, whom she called the *Dutchkin*, her heart being given all the time to the young William Seymour; and as the King had a young family, she seemed so far from the succession that she might well hope to obtain consent to her marriage.

Meantime, Raleigh had been harassed and indignant at the suspicions that had fallen on him. As to intriguing with the Spaniards, he could truly declare that there was no one he hated so much as the Spaniards, or whom they hated so much. He had spent 40,000*l.* of his own money in enterprises against them, and had always given his voice in favour of whatever might damage them. He had been offered some of the money that Aremberg had promised Cobham, but he had refused it at once, and it really seems as if his whole offence had been the knowledge that Cobham had some plot in hand, and likewise his manifest discontent with the new comers. He was always unpopular. He had a haughty air, and a satirical countenance, such as made people imagine him contemptuous, and his open enmity to Essex had prejudiced James greatly against him, so that the knowledge that he had suffered injury was almost a presumption that he was scheming to avenge it; but we may be sure that if Raleigh had attempted a plot, it would not have been such a foolish one as Cobham's.

The whole man was overthrown by the accusation and his imprisonment. He wrote a long, rambling, despairing letter to his wife, and attempted to stab himself, but only made a slight wound, from which he soon recovered. His enemies said it was only done to excite compassion, but his letter appears more as if his despair was genuine, when his Queen was gone, and he was maligned and thrown over to his enemies. He was a brave man, and with much devotion after the fashion of the time, but his health had probably been affected so as to overthrow his self-control. Shortly after he obtained that his servant should throw a letter, implying Cobham to speak the truth, through that nobleman's window, tied round an apple. In return, Cobham pushed a letter under the door declaring that he had never had conference with Raleigh on any treason, and that Sir Walter was perfectly innocent of any such practices.

CAMEO II.

Trial of Raleigh. 1604.

It was decided that the trials should be tried at Winchester, where the Court had gone in hopes of being out of reach of the plague. They were lodged in the old castle, and very dull did Queen Anne and her ladies find their quarters. They played at all the games that any of them could recollect, in the twilight of the November evenings, such as "Rise, pig, and go!" "One penny follow me!" "I pray you, my lord, give me a course in your park," and "Fire." Now and then Paulett, Marquess of Winchester, gave them an entertainment at Basing House, and there was much joking at old Lord Nottingham, the hero of the Armada, having fallen in love with the King's cousin, Lady Margaret Stewart.

While the ladies sought diversion, the fate of one of the ablest and bravest men in England hung in the scales. The Londoners viewed Raleigh as first guilty of the death of their darling, Essex, and next as ready to betray them to Spain. He had done nothing to conciliate them, and when he was brought from the Tower his keeper wrote that it had been "hob or nob" whether he could have been brought alive through the people, and that if one hairbrained fellow had set upon him it would have been impossible to save him. The coach in which he arrived at Winchester was pelted with tobacco-pipes.

Robert, now Lord, Cecil, had at one time been Raleigh's friend, but he was now vehemently set against him, and resolved to bring on the trial, showing, as M. de Beaumont judged, more zeal for his own interests and passions than for the good of the realm. Beaumont told Henri IV. in his letters that a Scotsman had been taken at Dover on his return from Brussels, whither he had taken letters from Aremberg after his conference with Cobham. From this Scotsman's evidence the Court were convinced that Aremberg knew of the plot, which of course was highly probable, and Beaumont alleges that James showed him two intercepted letters of Aremberg which convinced him of Raleigh's complicity in it; but we hear this only through his, the French ambassador's despatches, for Aremberg's letters were not produced at the trial, it was said, because the Court did not wish to offend the Archduke, and in truth such little practices appear to have been considered as part of the regular mission of an Embassy.

The trial took place by special commission, and before commissioners, several of whom were Raleigh's well known enemies, in especial Cecil himself and Lord Henry Howard. He might well, had he been permitted, have excepted against being tried by them, though when asked whether he would challenge any of the twelve gentlemen of Middlesex who formed the jury, he said he knew none of them, but thought them all honest and Christian men. He begged that, as sickness had weakened him, and his memory had never been good, he might answer the points of the evidence against him singly, as they were delivered, for he could not carry them in his mind to the end.

The Attorney-General, that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who was

CAMEO II.

Speech of Coke. 1604.

bitterly hostile to him, urged that the King's evidence ought not to be broken or dismembered, whereby it might lose much of its *grace and vigour*. The Court, however, were more humane, and permitted the prisoner to argue for himself. His indictment, to which he pleaded not guilty, was that he had conferred with Cobham about making Arabella Stewart, Queen; that they were to receive from Spain 600,000 crowns to be used for the purpose, and that Raleigh had given Cobham a book against the King's title to the throne, also that Cobham and Brooke had talked of the King, and all his cubs, being taken out of the way.

The speech of the Attorney-General Coke was certainly not wanting in vigour, whatever it might be in grace. He explained that there had been two plots, the *main*, which was Raleigh's, and the *bye*, which was Brooke's and Markham's, and which he proceeded to detail in the blackest terms. Sir Walter interposed to observe that he was not being tried for this *bye*, on which he was told that the two plots were joined like Samson's foxes, by their tails, and Sir Edward Coke continued his invectives with an explanation that treason is of four kinds, the last of which included the cutting off of the King and his race.

Sir Walter on this demanded how all this concerned him, and was answered, "Thou art a monster, thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart," and then much was said of his supposed intentions, to which Sir Walter answered—

"All this while you tell me news, Mr. Attorney!"

Mr. Attorney, however, proceeded to tell of "the most horrible practices that ever came out of the bottomless pit of the lowest hell," but which were only Cobham's attempt at correspondence while in the Tower. Raleigh could not but ask, "if Cobham were a traitor, what was that to him?" to which Coke replied—

"All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I *thou* thee, thou traitor! I will prove thee the rankest traitor in all England."

Sir Walter replied with dignity—

"No, no, Mr. Attorney, I am no traitor. Whether I live or die, I shall stand as true a subject as any the King hath. You may call me traitor at your pleasure, yet it becomes not a man of quality and virtue so to do; but I take comfort in it. It is all that you can do, for I do not yet hear that you charge me with any treason."

The Lord Chief Justice Popham here interposed, saying that Mr. Attorney spoke out of the zeal of his duty for the service of the King, and the prisoner for his life, bidding them be patient on both sides.

The Attorney-General then caused the Clerk of the Crown to read the declaration that had been extracted from Lord Cobham in his first passion on seeing Raleigh's letter with the mention of his intercourse with Aremberg, telling the story of the 600,000 crowns, and saying that Raleigh would never let him alone. This last, Coke caused to be read twice over. Here was his case, and Raleigh might well call on the jury to say whether this was real evidence that he, whose life and

CAMEO II.
Raleigh's defence.
1604.

fortune had been risked so often against the Spaniards should make himself "such a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler or Jack Cade," as to attempt a rising in their favour against the King, at a time too when he knew their power to be greatly decayed.

Another examination of Cobham about the meeting, supposed to be intended in Jersey in order to pay over the Spanish money, was then read, but it was not signed; and when Raleigh demanded to be confronted with Cobham, all the judges were against him, Popham observing that "many horse-stealers should escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses." Watson's allegations were also read, declaring that "Mr. Brooke said Lord Cobham said that the priests were on the *bye*, but he and Sir Walter Raleigh were on the *main*, which was to destroy the King and all his cubs."

"O barbarous!" cried Sir Walter. "Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders against me? If they, like unnatural villains, used these words, shall I be charged with them?"

To which the Attorney-General replied—

"Thou art thyself a spider of hell, for thou confessest the King to be a most sweet and gracious prince, and yet thou hast conspired against him."

The flagrant injustice of such a trial is almost more striking here than in the case of Mary of Scotland, for the witnesses in this case were all living, and in the hands of Government; but to have permitted the prisoner to have confuted them, would have procured his acquittal, and this would have defeated what was then considered as justice upon a man who might be dangerous.

The next deposition that was read was from Kemys, a warmly attached retainer of Raleigh's, who had delivered a letter and message to Cobham in the Tower. Raleigh denied the letter, and declared that Kemys's evidence had been extorted by imprisonment and dread of torture; but he was told that Kemys had never been threatened with the rack, only told that he deserved it—a nice distinction!

With all these disadvantages, Raleigh's enemies failed entirely to prove anything against him more than that he had had some intercourse with Lord Cobham, and knew that Cobham had some dealings with Aremberg. When the speech for the prosecution seemed to be coming to a pause, the following altercation took place between prisoner and Attorney-General—

"Mr. Attorney, have you done?"

"Yes, if you have no more to say."

"If you have done, then I have somewhat more to say."

"Nay, I will have the last word for the King."

"Nay, I will have the last word for my life."

"Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came to the bar."

Cecil here interfered, saying, "Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney; give him leave to speak."

CAMEO II.

Sentence on Raleigh. 1604.

To which the Attorney-General replied, "I am the King's sworn servant and must speak. If I may not be patiently heard, you discourage the King's counsel, and encourage traitors:" and therewith he "sat down in a chafe," and would speak no more till he was urged by the Commissioners, who must have repented of having so done, for he made a long repetition of all the evidence, such as it was, and on Sir Walter interrupting some part, and saying, "You do me wrong," he replied—

"Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived."

"You speak indiscreetly, uncivilly, and barbarously," returned Sir Walter, with only too much truth.

The reply was, "Thou art an odious fellow; thy name is hateful to all England for thy pride."

"It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney," said Raleigh.

Finally, a confession of Cobham was read, telling of the letter folded round the apple, entreating him to clear Raleigh of treason, and adding certain strange particulars, such as advice to him not to be "overtaken by confessing to any preacher" like the Earl of Essex.

Of which the Attorney-General failed not to make capital for gross abuse. Raleigh was much astounded, but he had another letter of Cobham's which, in spite of Coke's objections, Cecil permitted to be read aloud. This said, "I never had conference with you in any treason, nor ever was moved by you to the things I heretofore accused you of, and for anything I know, you are as clear from any treasons against the King as is any subject living. Therefore I wash my hands, and pronounce with Daniel, '*Purus sum a sanguine hujus*,' and so God deal with me, and have mercy on my soul as this is true."

The only thing a modern Judge and Jury would have thought proved was that my Lord Cobham was as ignorant of truth as of Scripture, and that he ought to have been sentenced for perjury; but instead of this, the Jury, finding that it was true that 1,500*l.* a year had been offered (but not accepted) by Aremberg to Raleigh for intelligence, found the prisoner guilty of treason, though it is said some of them afterwards asked his pardon on their knees.

The Lord Chief Justice was very abusive in his manner of pronouncing sentence, accusing Sir Walter, besides all the rest, of heretical and atheistical opinions, and vituperating him while condemning him to die. It seems, however, from the contemporary reports of the trial, that the violence of the Attorney-General was greatly disapproved, and the prisoner's dignity and patience much admired. One letter indeed said Cobham's evidence was no more to be attended to than the barking of a dog.

Raleigh wrote several piteous letters of entreaty to the King, and a more dignified farewell to his wife, and in the meantime the other prisoners were tried, the commoners on one day, the two peers on another. The ladies of the court attended the trial. The guilt of all

CAMEO II.
Execution of Brooke.
1604.

was proved without question, and Clarke and Watson, the two Romish priests, were first put to the traitor's death, Watson declaring that he wished he had more lives to spend, and one to lose for every man he had drawn into treason; Clarke treating his death more as a martyrdom. Their quarters were set up on the gates of Winchester, their heads on the castle tower.

A day or two later Brooke was beheaded in the castle yard, and it was noted that he could see from the scaffold the hospital of S. Cross, which was thought to have been the cause of his discontent. He was attended by the Bishop of Chichester, who went with him to the scaffold, where he utterly denied the story about destroying the King and his cubs. From him, the Bishop went to his brother, Lord Cobham, while the Bishop of Winchester was in like manner engaged with Raleigh, and Lord Grey preferred to be prepared by his minister, Mr. Field. Sir Griffin Markham was a Roman Catholic, and though he talked with the minister sent him, it was chiefly in the way of civility, as he had strong hopes of a respite.

Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Sheriff of Hampshire (brother to the unfortunate Chidiocke), summoned Markham, Grey, and Cobham to the scaffold on a wet November morning at ten o'clock. Markham came first, very sad and serious, but resolute, and put aside a handkerchief which was offered him to cover his face, saying he could face death without blushing. Just as he was preparing for the block, John Gib, the King's clerk, struggled up among the boys and shouted that he had a message for the Sheriff, who, on hearing it, told Markham, since he was so ill-prepared, he should have two hours more grace, and leading him from the scaffold, locked him into the great hall of the castle—"to walk with Prince Arthur," as the saying was, on account of the representation of Arthur's Round Table hanging at one end.

Lord Grey then came, looking "like a dapper young bridegroom," and attended by many young courtiers. He fell on his knees, and uttered a long prayer of his own composition for himself, and another for the King, each lasting about half an hour, the witnesses looking on in the rain. When he had done, Sir Benjamin told him that the order of the execution had been changed, and that Lord Cobham was to come first; then locking him likewise up in Prince Arthur's hall.

Lord Cobham came next, showing a courageous face, and expressing sorrow for his offence against the King, but declaring that he had spoken the truth about Raleigh. Then after saying that there was more to be done, Grey and Markham were led forth, and while the three looked strangely on one another, the Sheriff announced that their lives were granted to them!

The spectators broke out into cries of joy, which echoed and re-echoed all over the castle and city, in contrast to the Monday before, when, on Brooke's head being held up, nobody had said "God saue the King" but the executioner and sheriff.

Raleigh had his window open that way and heard all. His wife and

Reprieve of Raleigh. 1604.

Cecil were exerting themselves on his behalf, and though his turn was to have been on the Monday, he too was reprieved, Cecil having interceded for them with the King, who had no delight in bloodshed, though he was easily terrified. He even prevailed to save Raleigh's manor of Sherborne from confiscation, though there were more than a dozen applicants for it.

The object of this scene was to satisfy James's mind whether Cobham would persist in his accusation to the end. The three more noted prisoners, Grey, Cobham, and Raleigh, were taken to the Tower, where Grey died after eleven years, and Cobham was released, and died in great poverty. Markham and two more of the conspirators were banished for life.

CAMEO III.

THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.

(1603—1606.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1589. Henry IV.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1592. Clement VIII.

CAMEO III. — *Presbyterian address.* 1603.

EVERY man in England was anxious as to the part King James might take in Church matters. The Presbyterians had sent a Northamptonshire gentleman named Pickering to congratulate the King even before he left Scotland, and to endeavour to obtain a promise that he would favour their sect, as that in which he had been bred up; and Archbishop Whitgift sent Dr. Neville, the Dean of Canterbury, with compliments on his accession, and hopes that the King would continue to uphold the Church of England.

James replied that such was his full intention, and he showed that he was in earnest by warning off the Puritans who were hastening to him with petitions against the Church, and by a proclamation forbidding all innovations in doctrine or in discipline. The Roman Catholics likewise entreated him for toleration, and while in Scotland he had made them numerous promises. Some of his best friends had been Scottish Romanists, and he was inclined to favour them; but he was assured that to do so openly would be his destruction by offending his Protestant subjects, and he ended by deciding to refuse them all licence for freedom of worship, while he personally treated many of them with distinction. Thus of course he drove them to shifts and subterfuges. Priests circulated among them, and in most mansions of Romanist families there was a cunningly-contrived chamber, where such a guest might be hidden in case of danger. Some families compounded for the fine to which they were liable for not attending the parish church by paying a stated sum every year; some went to church often enough to avoid the penalty, others, in the districts favourable to them, took their chance, though always with the risk of being informed against and mulcted with all the arrears.

Puritanism had more hope, though its great champion Cartwright was just dead at the age of sixty. The party had often communicated with James while still in Scotland, and solicited his interposition with Elizabeth, and he, glad to obtain any partisans in England, and in the hands of his own Calvinist subjects, had seemed to lend them a willing ear. Thus they were encouraged to draw up a great petition, which was contrived chiefly by two gentlemen named Arthur Hildersham and Stephen Egerton. It attacked almost all the Catholic customs of the Church and prayed for relief from these observances. They intended that it should be signed by a thousand clergy, and therefore called it the Millenary petition, though they only obtained seven hundred and fifty-three names. There were others who termed it the Lying petition. They begged for a conference with their opponents, a thing to which Queen Elizabeth had never consented. She looked on the matter from the Catholic side, with her own mind fully made up, and making no concessions to Calvinism but what were wrung from her by necessity; while James, on the other hand, bred up by the Calvinists, weary of their tyranny, and dissatisfied with their doctrine, naturally and wisely desired to understand what the two parties in the Church which owned his supremacy had to say for themselves. It is therefore very unjust to him to say that he permitted the conference in order to display his own theological knowledge. His whole behaviour in the matter justified the saying, that he was the wisest fool in Christendom, or he might rather be said to have shown himself the most foolish wise man.

The conference took place at Hampton Court Palace in the January of 1604. The King nominated, to represent Puritan divines, Reynolds and Sparkes from Oxford, and Chatterton and Knewstubbs from Cambridge.

He would better have satisfied the party that justice was being done to them if he had let them choose their own delegates, and permitted the members to be more equally matched with those of the Church party, of whom nineteen were present, their offices marking them out. Archbishop Whitgift, now very old and infirm, left the chief debate to Bancroft, Bishop of London, and there were six more Bishops, all men of considerable learning and ability, also seven Deans, of whom the most noted were the saintly Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster, and Nicolas Overall, Dean of S. Paul's, who put the finishing touches to the Church Catechism. Archdeacon King was reputed one of the best speakers of his time, and was also there.

On the first day, the 14th of January, the King shut himself up with the Bishops, and the Puritans supposed it was to concoct measures against them; but the truth was that he wanted to be convinced in his own mind on certain points before throwing them into the arena. He wanted to understand the Church of England's defence of Confirmation, Absolution, and lay excommunication, and likewise to devise means of obtaining fit and able ministers for Ireland.

CAMEO III.
The Hampton Court Conference.
1604.

He did not approve of Confirmation being treated as a completion of Baptism or an indispensable Sacrament.

The Archbishop denied that the English Church held Baptism incomplete without Confirmation and referred to Apostolic practice, which Bancroft followed up with a reference to Hebrew vi. 2, observing further that "Mr. Calvin" had so expounded the text; Bishop Matthew of Durham also spoke of the laying of hands on the infants brought to our blessed Lord.

Then came Absolution, which James had heard likened to the Pope's pardons, and thought unnecessary except in cases of excommunication. Here Whitgift replied by showing him the forms of Confession and Absolution in the Daily Service, of which he approved; and Bancroft referred to the other two forms, supporting them by the mention of the subject in the Confessions of Augsburg, Saxony, and Bohemia, and again James fully approved.

But he much disliked lay Baptism even in cases of necessity, especially if it was to be performed by a woman; and the argument on this head lasted three hours, ending at last in the insertion of the words "curate or lawful minister" in the rubric for private Baptism. It was the only matter in which the Bishops yielded an old Catholic practice to his prejudice.

As to excommunication, it was the penalty for offences proved in ecclesiastical courts, and King James rightly held that it was not fitting that it should be pronounced by lawyers acting instead of the Bishops. This was agreed to, but the affairs of the Irish Church seem to have been forgotten or passed over.

On the ensuing Monday the real conference with the Puritan ministers took place. Prince Henry, though only eleven years old, was admitted to hear it, sitting on a stool by his father, and a Scotch minister, Mr. Patrick Galloway, was also present.

The four Puritans had the bad taste to appear, not in clerical gowns, bands, and cassocks, but in what were called Turkey gowns, a sort of undress approaching to a dressing-gown, perhaps as a means of avoiding the acknowledgment of any canonical dress, in which the Bishops and Deans would certainly appear.

James began by making them an address, in which he called them "the most grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved sort," and bade them state their objections at large. Upon which Dr. Reynolds reduced his requests to four heads—purity of doctrine, appointment of good pastors, good Church government, revision of the Prayer-book, in which of course much more was included. He then began to except against certain sentences in the Thirty-nine Articles, but was interrupted by Bishop Bancroft, who reminded his Majesty that there was an ancient canon forbidding men to speak against what they had once subscribed, and then proceeded to attack the garb in which the Puritans had thought fit to appear. "Fain would I know the end you aim at, and whether you be not of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed that

we ought in ceremonies rather to conform to the Turks than the Papists. I doubt you approve his position because here appearing before his Majesty in Turkey gowns, not in your scholastic habits according to the order of the universities."

James, however, checked the Bishop, saying that there could be no order if each party did not speak at large without chopping.

On Confirmation there was a great debate, for the Puritans wished to establish the foreign Protestant fashion of a so-called Confirmation of young people by each parish pastor, and Dr. Reynolds averred that in a diocese of 600 parishes it was very inconvenient to permit Confirmation by a Bishop alone, and there could be no complete examination.

Bancroft replied that the Bishops' chaplains or other appointed ministers examined the children, and both he and the Bishop of Winchester defied Reynolds to show that in primitive times the rite was administered by any save Bishops. The result was to consider whether the word "examination" might not be added to "Confirmation."

Some discourse followed, in the course of which the opinion of Rosny was quoted, that if the reformed churches in France had kept the same order as that of England, there had been many more Protestants there.

A desire to add sundry negations to the Articles was answered by the King that it would make the book as big as the Bible and confound the reader.

Dr. Reynolds then said that the Church Catechism (then ending with the explanation of the Lord's Prayer) was too short, and that Dean Nowell's was too long. To this the King agreed, laying down two rules: First, that curious and deep questions be avoided in the fundamental instruction of the people; secondly, that there should not be so general a departure from the Papists that everything should be accounted an error wherein we agree with them.

To a petition for a fresh translation of the Bible there was ready consent, and there ensued a curious debate about the publication of Papist and seditious pamphlets in discussion between the Secular priests and the Jesuits, which his Majesty said might be furnished in order to nourish a schism among them!

That it was desirable that learned and godly ministers should be placed in every parish every one was agreed, but the actual incumbents could not be ejected; and lay patronage caused, as the Bishop of Winchester showed, one difficulty. The Bishop of London wisely observed that "a praying ministry" was the great need, and recommended that godly homilies should be read by ministers who had no gift of preaching. Then came the question of pluralities, mooted by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who wished that "some might have single coats before others have doublets." Bancroft said, "A doublet is necessary in cold weather," and the matter remained as it was for more than two centuries.

CAMEO III.

The King's replies. 1604.

The Apocrypha then had its turn, and the King desired Dr. Reynolds to note which passages he disapproved.

Mr. Knewstubbs said "weak brethren were offended at the cross in Baptism," and the King desired to know how ancient the custom was. Dean Andrewes cited Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, and James declared himself satisfied, decidedly quashing the further arguments of Reynolds and Knewstubbs, that having been used superstitiously it ought to be given up, like the brazen serpent by Hezekiah.

Mr. Knewstubbs took exception at the "wearing of the surplice, a kind of garment used by the priests of Isis."

"I did not think till of late," said the King, "it had been borrowed from the heathen, because commonly called a rag of popery. Seeing now we border not upon heathens, neither are any of them conversant with, nor commorant amongst us, thereby to be confirmed in paganism, I see no reason but for comeliness' sake it may be continued."

Dr. Reynolds then objected to the words in the Marriage Service, "With my body I thee worship."

"I was made believe the phrase imported no less than divine adoration," said the King, "but I find it an usual English term, as when we say 'a gentleman of worship,' and it agreeth with the Scripture's '*giving honour to the wife.*' As for you, Dr. Reynolds, many speak of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honour well bestowed on her."

The King seems to have been getting impatient, and cut short arguments with what he meant for wit. On the exception to the Churching of Women, as a Jewish ceremony, he said that women being loth of themselves to come to church, he liked this or any other occasion to draw them thither.

When Reynolds demanded that there should be regular meetings of the clergy in rural deaneries and synods, in which he was quite right, the King, who was fresh from the experience of the miseries and browbeatings he had suffered from the General Assembly, broke forth in a characteristic speech: "If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and censure me and my council. Stay, I pray, for one seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grown pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you, for that government will keep me in breath and give me work enough."

He then spoke of the misrule that followed on the overthrow of the hierarchy in Scotland under his grandmother, Mary of Guise, saying of the Presbytery: "How they used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority," and he repeated his maxim, "No Bishop, no King."

James certainly had cause to dread the unrestrained voice of the clergy, but this refusal to permit the Church to make her voice known probably occasioned many of the ensuing troubles, and was a mistake

only in some degree repaired in the present day. Finally, James asked if there were any more objections, and said, "If this be all your party hath to say I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

There was another day's conference, when the alterations made in the Prayer-book were read by the Bishops, the chief of which were the insertion of "*and remission of sins*" in the form of Absolution, and of "lawful minister" in the rubric respecting Private Baptism; also an explanatory word in some of the Sunday Gospels, showing to whom they were addressed, whether to the disciples or the multitude. The Puritans then begged that licence might be given to "certain honest ministers in Suffolk," who would suffer much in credit if they were compelled to wear the surplice and sign the cross. The Archbishop would have replied, but the King took the word out of his mouth, and refused to regard "the credits of a few private men above the peace of the Church." Cecil, Puritan though he was, objected strongly to "the indecency of ambuling communions," and the King wound up with a discourse very much admired by the orthodox.

Their opinion was that the King had risen above himself, Bishop Bancroft had been even with himself, and Dr. Reynolds had fallen below himself. So says Fuller; but the Puritans alleged that the speeches were very ill reported, and that they had been most unfairly treated. They went home murmuring, and though the Bishops complimented the King highly in their gratitude, they were very uneasy, expecting that in the coming Parliament there would be so strong a show of Puritans that he might be terrified into giving way.

Archbishop Whitgift, now seventy-three years old, was especially desponding, and hoped not to live to see the evil day. A conference of Bishops to consult on the matter was convened at Fulham Palace, to which Whitgift went by water on a bitter and windy day of February, 1604. He caught a violent cold, but on the Sunday crossed to Whitehall, and there went to church with the King, and had much conversation with him and the Bishop of London. While going to take his place at dinner he was struck with paralysis, and was carried home to die. The King came to see him, and sat long by his bedside. The dying Primate tried to speak to him in Latin, but nothing could be understood except the words "*Pro ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei*" (for the Church of God), oft-times and earnestly repeated. He tried to write, but failed, and with a sigh lay down again. He departed on Wednesday, the 29th of February, 1604, having done good and faithful service by checking the Puritan lawlessness, and bravely stopping Queen Elizabeth in the Tudor course of plundering the Church to gratify the rapacity of courtiers.

A week after his death came out a royal proclamation, calling on all men to conform to the Prayer-book with the recent alterations, including Overall's addition to the Catechism, although these changes had as yet had no sanction from the Convocation. This, however, followed in

CAMEO III.

The translation of the Holy Scriptures. 1607.

due time, when that body assembled together with Parliament in the ensuing March.

James's speech owned Rome as the mother of the English Church, and while strongly denouncing her corruptions, bade his Parliament consider of means to prevent recusancy. He at the same time threatened the Puritans if they would not conform. An Act was also passed to prevent the alienation of Church property by gifts to the Crown. There was a good deal of discussion about the supplies, but the Parliament were unanimous in treating Popish recusancy with increased rigour, making every person educated beyond seas incapable of inheriting property, and to prevent the introduction of priests as tutors, insisting that all teachers of grammar should be licensed by the diocesan.

Convocation met at the same time, and licensed the book of Canons of the Church, which have ever since remained in force. They are the authority for the customs of the Church and clergy, and it is well that they were finally completed when there had been time for some settlement of men's minds after the tempests of the Reformation.

Richard Bancroft, though promoted to the see of Canterbury in the December of this same year, 1604, was still Bishop of London when King James addressed to him a letter respecting the revision of the Bible, which had been promised in the conferences at Hampton Court. Fifty-four scholars had been selected for the purpose, and the King requested the Bishops and other patrons to reserve benefices for such as were not already provided for, as a reward for their labours.

The translation of the Scriptures in most general use in England was the Bishops' Bible. This was Archbishop Parker's revision in 1568 of the translation set on foot by Tyndale and carried on by Coverdale, and the rhythm and general turn of the sentences had been fixed as it were by these two original translators; but there were defects in it manifest to all scholars, and knowledge of Greek and Hebrew had made much progress during the last century. Another translation had been made by some of the fugitives into Switzerland in Queen Mary's time, and was called therefore the Geneva Bible. This was much in vogue in Scotland and among the Puritans, but the King and his more orthodox subjects much objected to certain twists of the language and marginal notes which expressed Calvinistic views. However, all were agreed that the best energies of scholarship should be devoted to producing a standard version in the best English at command, though still adhering as much as possible to the former wording, to which the translators had all become attached from their childhood upwards.

The work was not actually put in hand till 1607, when some of the original fifty-four had died, and others had resigned, so that there were only forty-seven left, and of these Dr. Reynolds, one of the original movers, and Mr. Lively, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, both died just as the work had begun. The King put forth a letter of instructions.

CAMEO III.

The Authorised Version. 1607.

The text of the Bishops' Bible was to be preserved whenever it was possible. The names by which the personages in the Scriptures were universally known were to be preserved, instead of trying to make them more similar to the original, and correctness of pronunciation being impossible, this was a wise regulation. Most likely what we make of Ibraheem and Ysouf or Daoud, is quite as unlike as Abraham, Joseph or David, to what these patriarchs actually called themselves. The old ecclesiastical words were likewise to be preserved, such as Baptism instead of washing; and a preference was to be given to the meanings of words adopted by the early Fathers of the Church, who in dealing with Greek certainly had the advantage of us. The old divisions of chapter and verses were also to be preserved, marginal references were to be added, but no marginal notes except mere explanations conveying no special interpretation. The forty-five scholars were divided into six classes, two working at Westminster, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge. Each man of each class was to revise a chapter at a time separately, then with his emendations it was to be submitted to his whole class, and after the class had considered of it, the other composers overlooked the work. Where there was an obscure passage, scholars were consulted by letter, and when opinions differed, the question how the text should stand was fixed at a general meeting, and learned divines were appointed as censors of the work.

Comparison was made with Luther's work, and with the French and Italian versions, by which much light was often obtained. In fact there never was a translation of the Scriptures made so entirely as the work of the Church which undertook it. It occupied four years, and was published, in 1611, with the same preface and dedication to King James that it still bears, and which was written by Dr. Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester. Thinking of King James I., as we are accustomed to do, we feel a fulsome tone of panegyric in this address, but we cannot wonder at the enthusiastic gratitude with which he was regarded by the English translators, who, after all their fears of him as Presbyterian by breeding, and Roman Catholic by sympathy, found him their ardent friend and, moreover, a scholar able to give intelligent appreciation to their labours. No wonder he seemed to them an English Solomon, raised up for this special work, which we really owe to his patronage and comprehension of the subject; for none save a king trained in theological erudition could have so understood the necessities of the case, and none without his peculiar authority over the Church could have issued such regulations.

The first edition was issued in 1611, with a promise that a copy should be presented to any scholar who detected and corrected an error in it. We call it the Authorised Version, curiously enough, for it never was authorised, either by King or Convocation; it only made its way by its own surpassing merits, not only in England but in Scotland. There was at first some clinging to the Genevan version by the Calvinists both in England and Scotland, but as this was never forbidden, no

CAMEO III.
Death of Bancroft.
1609.

spirit of controversy was roused to defend it; and coming at the very moment when there was no declared war between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, there was no opposition to the book making its way in the north as well as the south. And thus, whatever unhappy divisions afterwards arose, the same version of the Holy Scriptures is equally dear to the Church and to the Kirk.

Another happy conjuncture of circumstances had brought about that the English language had just been moulded into its enduring form, by the scholarship of the early Tudor reigns, and the literature of the later. The diction preserved from the Bishops' Bible by the forty-five was still comprehensible to the homely English, and moreover to the lowland Scots, a matter in which the Scottish-speaking King may very possibly have had much influence; but the rudeness of the old tongue had been modified by (among others) Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Cranmer, Lord Bacon, and Shakespeare, all perfect masters of the powers of the language. Every modern tongue has at some time or other been fixed to a standard generally formed by some great work. Dante made the "*lingua Toscana*" of Florence standard Italian, Luther's Saxon High Dutch Bible fixed German; French, somewhat later, was pedantically moulded by the Hôtel Rambouillet and the Academy; and English took its instructions from the Bible and Shakespeare. The language of the first is familiar to all persons of the slightest religious training, the second to all of any culture. With these models, some words may be added, some forms dropped, but never entirely disused or forgotten. And there is a rhythm, a poetic taste, an inherent beauty, in the mere flow of the words that renders them a fit medium for the inspiration that dictates the substance, and makes them easy to retain on the memory, with an expressive charm of their own.

Scholarship and criticism have made progress, and now, two hundred and seventy years later, a fresh revision has been made, but thus far, more with the effect of confirming our trust in the main correctness of King James's translators; nor have the comparatively few alterations that have been made tended to disturb a single doctrine, handed down through the Church, and confirmed through the Holy Scripture, our precious birthright.

Archbishop Bancroft had not lived to see the completion of the work, but in the Convocation that accompanied the first Parliament of James, stringent canons were enacted in accordance with the decisions of the conference at the Savoy, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against the disobedient. There was much opposition, and the Parliament refused to confirm the Act. The judges were consulted, and declared it to be binding on the clergy, as passed by Convocation, but not on the laity as wanting the authority of Parliament.

The Archbishop enforced the canons on the clergy, and those who would not submit, lost their benefices. Accounts vary whether the number thus deprived amounted to fifty or three hundred. Possibly the fifty had considerable preferment, and the others had less to lose.

The Canons. 1609.

The Puritan laity sent up petitions in their favour, but James would hear nothing. He said the Puritan devil had been the torment of his mother and himself; he called some of the petitioners before the Privy Council to be admonished, and deprived others of their commission as justices of the peace.

It was the maxim of the day that the faith of the ruler was to be the faith of the people. The Roman Catholic reigned over Roman Catholics, the Lutheran over Lutherans, the Calvinist over Calvinists, and James was resolved that as an English Churchman he would have all his subjects of the same way, or else make them suffer for it by heavy fines if they would not go to Church, and imprisonment for those who could not pay the fine.

CAMEO IV.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

(1604—1607.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1589. Henry IV.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1605. Leo XI.
		1605. Paul V.

CAMEO IV.

The Roman Catholics in England.

JAMES I. had as little toleration for Roman Catholicism as for Puritanism. Perhaps he personally disliked it less, but he wished to convince the kingdom of his impartiality, and therefore publicly declared that he would rather none of his children should reign than that they should leave the English Church.

Moreover, he quickened the execution of the penal laws, banishing the priests and exacting fines from recusants. The families of gentlemen had under Elizabeth paid 20*l.* per lunar month as a fine for absence from Church, but on James's accession he had given them to understand that the burthen was remitted. Now, however, it was declared that he had only allowed them to delay the regular amount for a year, and 2,600*l.* was exacted from them all at once, and unexpectedly; and what rendered this ruinous payment the more galling was, that James had made a present of his claims in many cases to his needy Scottish favourites, if they could succeed in extorting them, so that a Roman Catholic household became a regular source of income to some Scot whom they were already disposed to regard as a national enemy.

One of the persons thus fined was Robert Catesby, of Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire. His father, Sir William, had been a staunch Roman Catholic, who had undergone more than one imprisonment under Queen Elizabeth, but he himself had been a vicious, dissipated youth, who abandoned his religion, and lived a wild life. In 1598 he returned to his former Church, and was fully imbued with the unscrupulous spirit of plotting and intrigue that characterised so many persons of the time. As Essex had sought liberty of conscience, Catesby had been with him in his unhappy rising, had been wounded and imprisoned, but escaped with a fine of 3,000*l.*

CAMEO IV.

Robert Catesby. 1604.

He had begun to dream of all possible means of, as he thought, delivering his friends and country from the heretic oppression they groaned under; and being thoroughly imbued with the theory of Philip II. and the League, that murder was lawful in the cause of the Pope, he conceived the notion of an explosion which should destroy King, Prince of Wales, Lords, Bishops, and Commons at one fell swoop, and leave a child of five years old heir to the realm. It is hard to imagine how any one should entertain so irrational an idea as that a sturdy nation like the English should, in the event of the success of the scheme, submit to those who had so horribly murdered all their leaders and many of their kindred. If the bare notion of the unsuccessful plot has embittered the country against Popery for two centuries and a half, what would its consummation have done? Even if the conspirators had seized the persons of the young prince and princess, their numbers would not have sufficed to protect them from the fury of the whole country, and they would have been annihilated before Spanish aid could reach them.

However, Catesby communicated his project to Thomas Winter, a younger son of the Worcestershire family who had served in the Low Countries, and afterwards had intrigued at Madrid for the English Roman Catholics. He at first was shocked, and declared the scheme horrible and barbarous; but Catesby averred that it was not so dreadful as the cruelties and persecutions it would revenge and terminate, and that moreover it was for no gain or fame of his own that he devised it, but for the deliverance and glory of the Church.

However, Velasco, the Constable of Castille, was coming to Flanders to conclude a treaty with James to put an end to the twenty years of open war between Spain and England; and Winter, before consenting to any such frightful plan, decided on going to Bergen, near Dunkirk, to hold an interview with the plenipotentiary, and entreating him to make it part of the negotiation that the English of his own Church should be better treated. Spain was, however, too weary of the war, and her King too lukewarm, for Velasco to encourage Winter with any hopes of interference on behalf of his fellows. Deliverance must come from themselves.

Proceeding to Ostend, Winter met there Guido, or Guy, Fawkes, a Yorkshire man, who had served in the Spanish force in the Netherlands, that school of violence and conspiracy, and had since been at Madrid at the same time with Winter himself. Knowing him to be daring even to desperation, Winter took him back to England, but without telling him any particulars beyond that a great attempt was to be made on behalf of the Catholics.

Meantime, Catesby had secured the assistance of two more, Thomas Percy, a distant connection of the Northumberland family, and steward to the Earl. He had been employed in intrigues with Scotland before the Queen's death, and had understood that the Roman faith was to be tolerated, as indeed there is a letter extant from James to the Earl,

CAMEO IV.
Percy.
1603.

saying "that it would be a pity to lose a good kingdom for a Mass in a corner." Percy was now a gentleman pensioner, but he considered the King to have broken his word, and was ready to go all lengths; and he brought in his brother-in-law, John Wright, who had been a follower of Essex, was esteemed the best swordsman in the kingdom, and had only lately joined the Roman Church, so as to be full of the zeal of a convert.

These, however, did not know what the project involved, and when the five met at Catesby's lodging, Percy cried, "Well, gentlemen, must we always talk and never do?"

Catesby replied that they must all take a solemn oath of secrecy before he gave them any information. Accordingly they all met at a lone house beyond S. Clement's Inn, where he made them swear silence on their knees, and then disclosed his plot, making them understand how it was to be carried out. Afterwards he took them up stairs to a chamber, where Father Gerard, a Jesuit mission priest, celebrated Mass, communicated them, and administered oaths of unswerving fidelity and secrecy to them, but without, as all the survivors declared, being admitted to any knowledge of their intentions.

Still they waited to see whether Velasco might yet be better than his word. He had come to England, and had been present at the installation of the little prince, "Baby Charles," as his parents called him, as Duke of York and Knight of the Bath, though he could not yet walk in the procession, and had to be carried by the Lord Admiral Nottingham.

Ben Jonson was bound to produce a masque for the Queen and her ladies, to act every Twelfth Day; and on this occasion the subject was, "Blackness." Anne and her ladies represented the twelve daughters of the River Niger, and a throne like a scallop shell was raised at the end of the room, where the Queen sat with her face, arms, and hands black, and attired like a Moor. After the burlesque, she danced in this guise with the Spanish ambassador, who kissed her hand courteously at the end, while the wags of the court hoped to see his lips partake of the dye.

The terms of the treaty were that the two kingdoms should be at peace, and hold traffic together as before; and with regard to Flushing and the other places put in English hands as pledges by the Dutch, their disposal was left to the equity of James unless the States should redeem them within a reasonable time. The Constable then interceded for the Roman Catholics in England, telling James that his King would take any indulgence granted to them as a favour to himself, while they themselves sent up a petition that they might be permitted collectively to pay a fixed sum into the treasury, instead of letting each family be subject to the monthly fine; laying before him a statement of the ruin and distress thus caused to many ancient and honourable families.

James and his ministers were, however, not be persuaded. They well knew that the peace was unpopular. The war was viewed as a

CAMEO IV.

The house at Westminster.

religious one. So far from having caused any suffering to the nation at large, it had been the means of gain, and the enterprising sailors by no means relished the cessation of their licensed piracies in the Spanish main. There was offence already taken at the negotiation, and if to the repression of the Puritans was to be added toleration of the Romanists, James was convinced that his throne would be in danger, and he answered Velasco that he durst not make any change. All hope being gone, the conspirators resolved to proceed, and the gentleman pensioner, Percy, hired a house at Westminster, of Ferris, the keeper of the King's wardrobe, as suitable for the conspiracy, as it had an outhouse actually built against the wall of the House of Parliament. Here they resolved to cut a hole in the foundation wall, and introduce powder, but before they could begin, Parliament was prorogued till the autumn.

They took another house at Lambeth, which they placed under the charge of another gentleman, Robert Kay, who had been admitted to the oath, and who was to receive by small instalments, coal, faggots, and powder to be carried gradually to the house at Westminster, of which Guy Fawkes had the keeping as Percy's servant.

Meanwhile, the severities against their Church went on. At the Lancashire Assizes six mission priests were condemned to death for continuing within the realm. An old gentleman, named Pound, had presented a petition, complaining of the usage of the Roman Catholics. This was a libel in the estimation of the lawyers of the time, and the poor old man was carried to the Star Chamber, and there overwhelmed with invectives by the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice Popham, Lord Cecil, and the Archbishop and Bishop of London. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory at Lancaster and at Westminster, to pay a fine of 1,000*l.*, and to be imprisoned in the Fleet during His Majesty's pleasure—nay, he was very near losing his ears. It is hard to conceive how a really good man, like Archbishop Bancroft, could have believed it right to assail him with personal abuse.

All this added force to the determination of the conspirators, especially Catesby and Percy. The latter obtained from the King a licence to collect men from the service of the Archduke Albert in Flanders, and Catesby likewise sought and gained leave to be a captain in his troop. This service was thought a good way of ridding England of enterprising young Romanists, though they were apt to return trained veterans both in daring and intrigue. The permission enabled Percy and Catesby to get together arms and horses without exciting suspicion, but in the meantime some of the conspirators began to have scruples on the wickedness of the action.

On this, Catesby went to Father Henry Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and told him, before a room full of people, that he was about to enter the Archduke's service, and that in the course of the war with the States, which every Roman Catholic esteemed a just quarrel, he might be called on to undertake enterprises which would

CAMEO IV.

Father Garnet consulted. 1605.

cause the destruction of the guiltless with the guilty, of women and children together with armed men, or as he put it, innocents with nocents. Garnet answered, as any man must do, that there were times when such considerations of mercy could not prevail in war; or it would always be in the power of one party to stop the hostilities of the other; and this Catesby represented to his friends as full sanction to the scheme. Two more were gained over to join in it, John Wright's brother Christopher, and Thomas Winter's brother Robert, and in December they all entered the house at Westminster taking with them a supply of hard eggs, dried meat and pasties, so as to have as little going in and out as possible, while Fawkes, as the servant of the house, kept watch, and warned them to desist if any one came near enough to be likely to hear the sound. They found, however, that when they tried to dig under the foundation, water came in on them, so that they would have to bore through the wall itself, a massive structure of the middle ages, three yards thick, and built of large stones, which their unaccustomed hands found extremely difficult to pick out. They thought one day that they heard a bell tolling under them, but this they remedied by sprinkling holy water. However, a day or two after, such a rumbling was heard over head, that they feared that they were bringing the house down prematurely on their own heads, or else that they were discovered, and they sent out Guy Fawkes to gain intelligence. He brought back word that it was one Bright, a dealer in fuel, removing his stock of coal from a cellar under the Parliament House, as he was going to set up business elsewhere. The cellar was to be let, and as it was exactly under the House of Lords it seemed made for their purpose. Fawkes hired it in the name of Mr. Thomas Percy, and during several successive nights, thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were conveyed into it, and covered with faggots, coal and lumber. It was now the May of 1605, and the accomplices dispersed until the autumn meeting of Parliament. Guy Fawkes went to Flanders to obtain the support of Sir William Stanley and Captain Owen, who held commands there, and Catesby proceeded to gain further partisans in England.

It was in his favour that the Government was carrying out the persecution more rigorously than ever, perhaps from the intimations of danger which Cecil began to receive, but which did not make him perceive the chance of driving the party to desperation. Roman Catholics were arbitrarily declared incapable of recovering debts or damages for injuries, of making sales or purchases, or bequeathing legacies, and it was even reported that, in the next Parliament, a bill was to be brought in to secure the total extirpation of their faith in the island.

Meanwhile forebodings and misgivings were spreading. Father Garnet suspected something, and, while dining with Mr. Catesby, made a discourse on the bounden duty of subjects to endure persecution patiently like the first Christians, and to leave vengeance to God alone.

Catesby broke forth angrily—"It is to you and such as you that we

CAMEO IV.

The Pope consulted. 1605.

owe our present calamities. This doctrine of non-resistance makes us slaves. No authority of priest or Pope can deprive man of his right to repel injustice."

Feeling convinced that some perilous project was in hand Garnet wrote to his superiors at Rome for advice, saying, "All are desperate. Diverse Catholics are offended with Jesuits. They say that Jesuits do impugn and hinder all forcible enterprises." He received in return two letters, one from Pope Paul V., one from the General of his Order, both commanding him to refrain from all political intrigues and to prevent all seditious attempts against the State. This was a change of tactics since the last generation, when every kind of violence, open and secret, against rulers hostile to the Church, was secure of approbation, but these attempts had been foiled, and there had been a recent growth of true piety and Christian spirit which was striving to gain the hearts of men by milder means.

Clement VIII. had so much disapproved of the dangerous practices of the Jesuits that he had refused to canonise their founder Loyola, and the reigning Pope, Paul V., Camillo Borghese by name, was a man who perceived the obligation to obey the existing powers. But it was not wonderful that fanatical and discontented spirits should adhere to what had been instigated by their earlier training, and Catesby continued to argue with Garnet on the lawfulness of stratagem and violence against heretics. At last he disclosed that a conspiracy was in agitation; but Garnet refused to hear a word of the plan, and warned him against the crime.

Catesby cited two letters from Clement VIII., written during Elizabeth's lifetime, excluding James, as a heretic, from the throne. He argued that if it were right to keep out the heretic heir, it must be also right to drive him out when he had come in. Then the Father produced the two letters he had received from Rome, but Catesby was not moved by them, declaring that his Holiness had been misled by wrong information. Finally they agreed to send a message to Rome with letters explaining the condition of the Romanists in England, and promising to take no step till a reply should have been received from Pius.

This was on the 24th of July, and Garnet sent privately a letter entreating the Pope to prohibit all recourse to temporal weapons under pain of censure of the Church. Sir Edmund Baynham was a little later sent to Rome, without knowledge of the plot, but to be ready to act as agent with the Pope as soon as the explosion should have taken place.

Meantime more recruits were gained. These were Ambrose Rookwood, of Coldham Hall, in Suffolk, who had many good horses; and three men, named Bates, Grant, and Keyes. Parliament was again prorogued from October to the 5th of November, and this excited some alarm. Commissioners for the union of England and Scotland were lodged in the very house the conspirators had at first rented, and it was

CAMEO IV.
The delays.
1605.

suspected that something might have been discovered. Fawkes was sent to reconnoitre, and found the commissioners viewing the House of Lords and walking over the very spot where lay his thirty-six barrels of powder, so that he concluded that all was safe.

Yet these delays really were providential in leading to the discovery of the plot. None of the conspirators save Catesby had any means to spare, and he had been maintaining several of the others, paying the rent, and finding money for all the expenses, till his resources were exhausted, and he was forced to take two richer men into his confidence. One was Sir Everard Digby, of Gotehurst, in Buckinghamshire, a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been a ward of the Crown and educated at Oxford in the English Church. He had been at Court and was noticed by Elizabeth, but he was of an old Roman Catholic family, and as soon as he was of age he returned to their faith, living on his own estates, where he married and had two little children. He was greatly shocked and startled at the horrible plot revealed to him, but Catesby showed him a passage in a Latin book from which he inferred that such schemes were held lawful by the Fathers of the Jesuit company. It is thought that this might have been that book of Father Allen of which Elizabeth had complained. At last Sir Everard's scruples were so far overcome that he advanced 1,500*l.*, and undertook to collect his friends under pretext of a hunting party at Dunmoor, in Warwickshire, so as to be ready to take up arms the moment the deed should be done.

Lord Harrington, who had charge of the Lady Elizabeth, of Combe Abbey, was also invited, and in his absence she was to be seized.

Thomas Percy also undertook to advance the sum he should receive for the rents of his kinsman of Northumberland, about 4,000*l.*; but Catesby also had recourse to another wealthy gentleman, Francis Tresham, who had just succeeded to his father's estates at Rushton, in Northamptonshire. He had, like Catesby, been engaged in the sedition of Lord Essex, but had escaped through bribes to the extent of 3,000*l.* distributed among the Queen's councillors. He contributed 2,000*l.*, but the others soon felt that it had been a mistake to admit him to the full knowledge, for he was of a fickle nature, without the iron fanaticism and ruthless sense of mutual fidelity that could alone make a true conspirator, and from the time of his accession Catesby began to lose confidence and to be troubled with ominous dreams.

However, the 5th of November drew on, and the plan was fully prepared at White Webbs, a solitary house near Enfield Chase. One difficulty was that every one had some one whom he wanted to save. The young Earl of Arundel was esteemed by all, Percy could not give up the Earl of Northumberland, Robert Keyes had deep obligations to Lord Mordaunt, who had supported his wife and children while he was himself in distress; and Tresham was very anxious about the husbands of his two sisters, Lords Monteagle and Stourton. Catesby declared that no good Catholic would attend such a Parliament since there was

no hindering the passing of laws against their own profession, but that rather than overthrow the project, they must be blown up, if they were as dear as his own son. However, the others agreed that if their friends should come to London, each should, at the last moment, receive a pressing message to detain him from the House. If this had been adhered to, probably the explosion would have taken place; though, judging by later experience, it is scarcely probable that the destruction would have been by any means so universal as the conspirators expected, considering the strength of the stone vaulting through which it was expected to reach and annihilate five or six hundred men.

A slow match was arranged which Guy Fawkes was to fire, and he reckoned that he should have time, before the explosion, to take boat, and thus to reach a ship which was provided by Tresham's money to convey him to Flanders, whence he was to publish a manifesto in justification of the deed, despatch letters requesting aid from all the Roman Catholic states, and then bring back in the vessel the arms and ammunition which he had already purchased.

Meantime, Percy, who, as a gentleman pensioner, could enter the palace, was to secure the little Prince Charles, in case he should not form part of the fatal procession at the opening of Parliament, and to carry him off to the place of meeting with Digby and his force at Dunchurch, whence all were to go in force to Lord Harrington's house to secure the Lady Elizabeth. If they failed in obtaining Charles, she would be proclaimed Queen.

One or other of the two would be proclaimed by Catesby at Charing Cross, and a declaration was to be issued providing redress of certain oppressions of a political nature, such as monopolies, which affected all subjects alike. It seems strange that these men should have deemed it possible that they should thus gain the support of a nation, whose most honoured and beloved would have been lying in one murdered heap —a nation too, full of courage, and peculiarly wrathful at cruelty and treachery!

By way of last preparation, Catesby went to confession to the Jesuit Father Greenway, who at once condemned the scheme as horrible wickedness, but without convincing one who had sucked in the poison of the doctrines of the League and of Philip II.—at least, such was Greenway's own account; and he further declared that Catesby desired him to procure the opinion of his superiors under seal of confession.

Greenway then went to the Provincial, Garnet, who was horrified at finding that the vague scheme which he hoped he had quashed a year ago had assumed such frightful shape and was so near its execution. He sharply reproved Greenway for discussing the matter or reporting it to him, and bade him endeavour to put a stop to it by all remonstrance in his power—by any means, indeed, short of violating the secresy of the confessional, an absolute impossibility to the priesthood.

It was the 22nd of October, too late to obtain any authoritative

CAMEO IV.

Tresham's warning.
1605.

censure of such proceedings, and Father Garnet, a really good man, went about in a state of silent misery and anxiety, but he still hoped to see Catesby before the 5th to keep the feast of All Saints together at a place called Coughton, where several Romanist families were to meet for the purpose of a secret Mass; but Catesby was prevented and never came; and Garnet, a pious and prudent man, perceiving all the wickedness and likewise the fatal absurdity of the plot, was obliged to wait in silence.

Catesby and Guy Fawkes were, together with Winter, at White Webbs, when Francis Tresham appeared, in a good deal of agitation, pleading for a warning to Lord Monteagle, and adding that he could not raise the money he had promised, until he had sold some estates to the amount of 16,000*l.*, so that he strongly advised putting off the explosion till the end of the session, promising, in the meantime, to maintain the associates on board his ship in the Thames. This made Catesby very uneasy, but he hoped that he had convinced Tresham that delay was impossible, while that gentleman himself was, by his own account, trying to devise means of preventing the catastrophe without implicating the conspirators.

Lord Monteagle was a Roman Catholic, and had been engaged in one, at least, of the Spanish plots. He was aware that something was in hand—as, indeed, there almost always was—and he had written to Rome through Sir Edmund Baynham, but he had lately obtained favour from the King and Council, and had been one of the commissioners employed to prorogue the last Parliament. He had a house at Hoxton which he seldom inhabited, but on the 26th of October he sent forward orders that a supper should be made ready for him there, and, in due time, he arrived to partake of it. While he sat at table his page brought in a letter which he said had been delivered to him by a tall, dark stranger. Opening the letter and seeing that it was in a feigned hand and neither dated nor signed, Lord Monteagle bade Thomas Ward, one of his esquires, to read it aloud. The actual letter is still extant. It is as follows:—

"My lord out of the love i heave to some of youer friends i have a caer of youer preservation therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some excuse to shift of youer attendance at this parliament for God and man hath concurred to punishe the wickedness of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisement but retyere yourself into your contri wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terribel blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this councel is not to be contemned because it may do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the danger is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope God will give yowe the grace to make good use of it in whose holy protection I commend yowe."

This was a more illiterate letter than a gentleman of the time was likely to have written; but the conspirators themselves believed it to have emanated from Tresham, who probably committed the blunders on purpose as a disguise. Lord Monteagle, guessing perhaps more than he ventured to avow, went that very night to Whitehall, where he found

CAMEO IV.
In the vaults.
1605.

Cecil and some others of the Council; but the King was away, hunting at Royston, and being well used to abortive plots, these ministers decided on waiting to act until his return.

The next day, Ward, the man who had read the letter, sought out Thomas Winter, and told him that his lord had laid it before the Council, advising that any one likely to be implicated should flee as he valued his life. Winter laughed at what he called the trick upon my Lord Monteagle, but when he had got rid of Ward he betook himself to White Webbs and gave warning. All there agreed that the partial disclosure must have come from Tresham, who was just then in Northamptonshire, and they waited till his return, when they appointed to meet him in Enfield Chase. They had made up their minds, if he gave cause for suspicion, to kill him on the spot, but he denied all so stoutly, and with so firm a countenance, that they were satisfied for the time. Fawkes went to examine the vaults, and found everything untouched, and he promised to continue his inspection on each of the six days that remained to the opening of Parliament.

On the 31st of October the King came back to London, and the letter was given to him. It seems that Lords Suffolk and Cranbourne, who, as Howard and Cecil, had become veterans in the stratagems and plots that made the life of a statesman of the day, had discovered the meaning of the hints it contained; but they knew their royal master well enough to let him work out the notion for himself, and then to stand as men astonished at his providential sagacity. Indeed, Cranbourne, whom James called his little beagle, was of opinion that it would be wiser to keep their own counsel and take no steps till the very night before the intended explosion, so as to be more secure of detecting all the conspirators.

They did not lack warnings. Monteagle's gentleman, Ward, brought them word on the 2nd of November that the King had read the letter and "made great account of it;" and the next day, Tresham told Winter that he was sure their mine had been discovered. Some wished to go on board the ship and flee to Flanders, but the bolder spirits declared that Tresham only meant to frighten them away. Percy, who had just arrived in London, was of this opinion, and the last steps were taken. Catesby and Wright rode off to arrange the rendezvous at Dunmoor, and Guy Fawkes was to watch day and night in the vaults. On Monday the 4th, Suffolk, who as Lord Chamberlain had to prepare the place for the King's reception, repaired with Monteagle to the House of Lords, and making an excuse that some of the hangings were missing, penetrated into the vaults, and actually beheld the pile of faggots, beside which stood Fawkes, whom they described as a very tall and desperate fellow. They asked what he was doing there, and he answered that he was the servant to Mr. Percy, and was looking after his master's fuel.

"Your master has laid in a good stock," they said, and retired.

When they were gone, Fawkes carried information to Percy and

CAMEO IV.
Arrest of Fawkes.
1605.

Winter of the visit he had received; but still returned to his post, intending at the first alarm to fire the train, and perish with his enemies. At two hours past midnight, on the actual 5th of November, he ventured to refresh himself by leaving the vault, and the instant he had passed the door he was seized upon by a guard of soldiers under the command of Sir Thomas Knevett, a Westminster magistrate, and was instantly bound hand and foot. He was booted and spurred as if for a journey, and in his pockets were a watch, some touchwood and tinder, and three slow matches, while just behind the door was a dark lantern with a light burning in it. The faggots being removed from the pile, two hogsheads and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were found under them.

The King was called out of his bed, and at four o'clock in the morning the Council assembled, and Guy Fawkes, still undaunted, was set before them. When interrogated, he called himself John Johnson, and said he was Percy's servant; but he did not deny his intention, and said he was sorry not to have carried it out. A Scotch noble asked him what the powder was for, and he answered, "To blow the Scotch beggars back to their own mountains." The King asked him how he could have had the heart to plan the destruction of so many innocent beings, including young children, and his reply was, "Dangerous diseases require dangerous remedies." He meant to destroy the Parliament to put a stop to persecution; but he refused to give the name of any accomplice, and James called him the English Scævola. He was sent off to the Tower, with orders that he should be tortured, at first slightly, but gradually more and more till he would confess. He was a man of intense resolution, and he kept absolute silence till he believed that his fellows were out of reach.

As soon as the tidings spread, Francis Tresham came to the Council and offered his assistance in apprehending any rebels; but Percy and Winter mounted their horses, and by night reached the place of meeting at Dunmoor. Keyes and Rookwood waited till the next morning; then Keyes went; but Rookwood, who had relays of horses all along the road, lingered till noon that he might take the latest intelligence. At Brickhill he overtook Catesby and John Wright, and soon after Percy and Christopher Wright. They rode on with headlong speed, throwing their cloaks into the hedge to lighten their weight, and at six in the evening they came to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, the abode of Catesby's mother, whence they were to have started to seize Elizabeth; but Lord Harrington received warning by a post from Cecil, and carried his charge off to Coventry, where the citizens armed themselves to protect her. Rookwood had ridden eighty miles in six hours. At Ashby the fugitives met Winter and others, just sitting down to supper, and, weary as they were, they went on to Dunchurch house, where they found Sir Everard Digby acting host to numerous gentlemen, who only vaguely knew that they might be called on to rise in behalf of their faith, but who soon perceived that,

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Dunchurch. 1605.

be the project what it might, it was a failure, so they all took their departure in the course of the night.

On the morning of the 6th, Sir Everard Digby found himself alone with Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, and the two pairs of brothers, Wright and Winter, and their servants. If they had hurried to the coast they might yet have escaped, but Catesby could not give up the scheme of an insurrection, and they made for Warwick, where they found some of the King's horses and exchanged their own for them; then riding across Worcestershire, trying at each Roman Catholic household to raise the inhabitants; but there was nothing encouraging in the aspect of the runaways. Not a man would rise to join them, and many shut their doors against them, reviling them for thus bringing ruin on them and their religion. Moreover the sheriffs of Warwickshire and Worcestershire were following on their track, proclaiming the horrors of their plot, and raising the hue and cry against them. Late in the evening of the 7th they were admitted into the fortified house of Holbeach, belonging to Mr. Stephen Littleton, to whom they told their whole plot. They could still have escaped into Wales, but they chose rather, in their desperation and exhaustion, to hold out Holbeach house against their pursuers.

The servants, forty or fifty in number, however, stole away during the night, and in early morning Stephen Littleton, the master of the house, followed their example. Sir Everard Digby likewise departed, saying he would bring succour; and he was scarcely out of the house when a spark fell upon some gunpowder which was being dried before the hall fire, and there was a great explosion. Catesby, Rookwood, Grant, and Keyes were all blackened and much hurt, and Rookwood, in terror, threw himself on his knees before an image of our Lady, confessing the wickedness of the plot, and praying for forgiveness, while Robert Winter, also horror-stricken, got out of the house and joined Mr. Littleton in a wood hard by. By noon, the sheriff of Warwick, Sir Robert Walsh, came up with all the country folk he had collected, in sufficient numbers to surround the house, and he called on them to surrender. They were now hopeless, but they preferred rather to die in the struggle than on the scaffold, so that they returned a haughty answer, on which the sheriff ordered one part of his company to set fire to the buildings, and the best armed to storm the gateway of the courtyard. Catesby, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Percy, and the two Wrights, rushed out armed only with their swords, making themselves as it were a mark. Winter was shot first, in the right arm, on which Catesby called out "Stand by me, Tom, we will die together"; and as they stood back to back, both were shot through the body by two bullets from one musket. Catesby crawled back into the house on his hands and knees, grasped the image of the Blessed Virgin in the hall, and died, clasping it to his breast. The two Wrights were killed on the spot, Percy was mortally wounded, and Rookwood, with a broken arm, and a wound in the body from a pike, was taken in the rush from

CAMEO IV
Capture of conspirators.
1605.

the courtyard. Digby was arrested near Dudley, Stephen Littleton and Robert Winter reached the house of a widowed kinswoman at Hagley, and were there secreted by her son Humfrey Littleton, but a servant betrayed them; and Grant, Keyes, and Bates, were also captured. Percy died the next day, and the other prisoners were brought to London and lodged in the Tower, where they were joined by Francis Tresham, who had thought himself safe, and had gone about London as usual, till he was arrested on the 12th of November.

Meantime the King, half flattered and half frightened, put out proclamations about the terrible peril he had escaped by what his flatterers called his divine illumination; and Lady Elizabeth wrote a pretty note to her brother Henry, full of thanksgiving. Lord Harrington, who had a fever from the shock, described her as saying—"What a queen I should have been by this means! I would rather have been with my father in the Parliament-house than wear his crown by such means."

Guy Fawkes meantime had been examined again and again, under constantly increasing torture. He told from the first all his own intentions, and said he was ready to die, but he would utter no one's name, till tidings came of the deaths of Percy, Catesby, and the Wrights, and then he spoke freely of their doings, since they were past all reach of injury; though still he refused to utter a word that could implicate the three Jesuit priests, Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard, who were suspected of a knowledge of the plot. What this resolute man must have endured is shown in a touching manner by his signatures to his confessions. On the 8th of November "Guido Fawkes" is written in a bold but neat hand; on the 10th, "Guido" is traced in weak and broken characters, and the surname is indicated by two mere broken strokes, as if he had fainted in the midst.

Bates, the servant of Catesby, was also racked, and at once confessed whatever was wanted, and he was the first who allowed that the priests were concerned. Tresham denied their knowledge of the gunpowder plot, but said that Garnet and Greenway had held a correspondence with Spain before the late Queen's death. Tresham fell sick soon after, and when dying dictated a paper entirely exonerating the Jesuits. He died on the 22nd of December, 1605. On the 12th of January, 1606, proclamation was made for the apprehension of the three priests, but Gerard and Greenway succeeded in escaping to the Continent.

Garnet took refuge in a house called Handlip, near Worcester, belonging to Thomas Abingdon, whose wife was sister to Lord Monteagle, and whose abode had hitherto baffled all searches for priests. Humfrey Littleton, who had been arrested, basely gave a hint where to look for him, in hopes of thus gaining favour, and Sir Henry Bromley was sent to Handlip with an armed force on the 20th of January. Mr. Abingdon was absent, but his wife made no difficulty about delivering up the keys, and guards were placed to watch day

and night at each entrance door and in all the passages. Three days passed without a discovery, but on the fourth two men were seen creeping along a gallery, and instantly apprehended. They proved to be the servants of Garnet and Oldcorn, another Jesuit. They had been compelled by hunger to leave their hiding-places, and the search was thus stimulated. Nine secret chambers were discovered, and at last, on the 12th of February, in an upper room, the boarding round the hearth was found to move like a trap-door, and the bricks below the fireplace being taken up, the two priests, Garnet and Oldcorn, were discovered, with a store of provisions to enable them to hold out there. The next day, together with their servants and the master of the house, they were taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower.

Meantime the eight survivors of the conspirators, Guy Fawkes, the two Winters, Digby, Rookwood, Keyes, and the two servants Bates and Grant, had been brought to trial on the 27th of January, 1606, the delay having been caused by an endeavour to secure Sir William Stanley, and a Jesuit whom the Spanish Government in Flanders refused to give up. The King listened to the trial from one secret place, the Queen and Prince from another, and Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General, took care to divide his speech between invectives against the prisoners, and compliments to his Majesty's wisdom and sagacity.

All the prisoners except Sir Everard Digby pleaded "Not Guilty," explaining that they allowed their participation in the powder plot, but that the indictment contained much of which they had no knowledge. The plot had certainly not been instigated by the Jesuits, nor had they held any consultations with them on the subject; and as to the plan, they belived that whatever it might appear to men, they were guiltless before Heaven. The religion they believed to be the only true one was persecuted, and the King had broken faith with them, and not kept the promises made before his accession. This, which was probably only too true, Cecil and Northampton denied, declaring that it could only have been the promises of intriguers in his name that had misled them. They denied that any others of the English Romanists had shared in their project; indeed, Sir Everard Digby lamented the condition to which he had been brought by the project to which he had given up everything, and which he found condemned by priests and people alike, and treated as horrible wickedness. The poor young man might well wonder that what was treated as almost saintly zeal, twenty years before, should have become a frightful crime. The evidence entirely consisted of the written depositions of the prisoners and of a servant of Digby's; there was no oral examination, and all were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to die. There was no doubt of their deserving the sentence, except perhaps Digby and Rookwood and the two servants, but these were no merciful days, and the whole country was horrified. The place of execution was the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard,

CAMEO IV.
Execution of conspirators.
1606.

where four died on the 30th of January, and the other four, including Fawkes, on the following day

The Earl of Northumberland had been arrested on account of his connection with Percy, and a belief among the Council that if the plot had succeeded he was to have been made Regent. A bill had been brought before the House of Lords to attaint the memory of those conspirators who had not lived to be tried; but into it were brought the names of sundry persons not yet arraigned, and the Lords refused to pass it without evidence against them. Thereupon the Council set themselves to obtain evidence from the captives in the Tower, and put the servants on the rack.

Garnet, who was an acquaintance of Cecil, a gentleman of good birth and a finished scholar, was at first well treated, and his ability and wariness were so great that though the commissioners went day by day to his cell to examine and cross-examine him and Oldcorn, they could elicit nothing that could be used against them. The two servants, Owen and Chambers, were tortured, but betrayed nothing; and at last Garnet was also threatened, but answered, "*Minare ista pueris*," (threaten children with these things); and at last barbarous ingenuity was employed to make these prisoners criminate themselves. The warder, who had charge of Garnet, was directed to pretend to be his friend, and to offer to convey letters to his friends. Several letters were written, partly with ink, partly with orange-juice, which only became visible when held to the fire; but both Garnet and Oldcorn were wary, and not a word appeared that could form the ground of an accusation against them. The next expedient was one that had already been tried with Fawkes and one of the Winters. The warder showed each of the Jesuits a window in his door, and these being just opposite to one another, told them that they could safely converse. It was strange that men so cautious should not have guessed, as their predecessors had done, that in the space between lay hidden Lockerson, Cecil's private secretary, and Fossett, a magistrate, taking notes of whatever they said—an expedient only rivalled by Dionysius the elder.

The two priests consulted on their defence, and Garnet said he could not deny that he had been at White Webbs, but that he could maintain that he had not been there since Bartholomewtide, and he was well persuaded that he should wind himself out of this matter.

In another conversation Garnet said things that showed that he was connected with the conspirators, and told his friend that they must prepare for the rack, and that he heard that one Johnson, apparently a servant at Handlip, had been on the rack three hours. Next time, Oldcorn related his examination, and Garnet said he should demand proofs against himself. Altogether five of these interviews were permitted, and then the commissioners drew up fresh interrogatories, and on the 1st of March the horrible questioning began again on the poor servants and on Oldcorn. Owen was frightfully tortured, but said not

a word to criminate his master. On the 3rd, when he was to be examined, he was dead. The Roman Catholic writers say that he was tortured to death; but at the inquest it was deposed that he was lying on bloody straw, having killed himself with the blunt knife allowed at meals, lest he should be driven to betray his master or else in a delirium of terror. However, torture was absolutely contrary to English law, so that this may have been false evidence adduced in order to prevent a verdict of murder being necessary against the torturers. Oldcorn was also tortured, but said nothing admitting any treasonable practices, only he replied in the affirmative when asked whether he had had any communication with Garnet in the Tower.

Garnet on his side made his great mistake. He denied the conversations with his companion, and even when the replies were read to him, he said Oldcorn might be weak enough to accuse himself falsely, but that he never would. He held out till the reports of Lockerson and Fossett were shown to him, and then showed himself overwhelmed and abashed at his falsehood. Step by step, admissions were elicited, and inquiries were founded on each, till at last he allowed that he had given Guy Fawkes letters of commendation in Flanders; that he had acceded, as to a general proposition, to Catesby's question whether in a good cause the innocent might not sometimes be destroyed with the nocent, that Greenway had in confession revealed to him the plot, having heard of it from Catesby, and he believed also from Thomas Winter, but that he had laid commands on Greenway to use every means for preventing the perpetration of so awful a crime. After this, Oldcorn and Mr. Abingdon were sent to Worcester to be tried, and Oldcorn, though apparently innocent of all save being a Jesuit, was put to death; but Abingdon, who had done nothing but hide the two priests, was pardoned on the intercession of his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle.

After having been twenty-three times examined in prison, Henry Garnet was on the 3rd of March tried for high treason in the Guild Hall before a special commission. The King, the Lady Arabella Stewart, all the Ambassadors, and all the members of Parliament, were present, and Sir Edward Coke made a speech of some hours, describing the arrogance of the Pope and machinations of the Jesuits, whom he declared to be leagued for the King's overthrow, and the destruction of the Protestant leaders; but when his general invective was over, he entirely failed to adduce any evidence that Garnet had either instigated or approved the plot. None of the conspirators in death or torture had ever said a word that could be so construed.

Garnet showed great dignity and temper, defending himself with much skill and patience, though so often interrupted and captiously cut short, that the King himself declared that they were not giving him fair play. He rested his defence on the secrecy of the confessional, demonstrating that were it not thus inviolable, the only hope would be taken away of the sinner's coming to the person most likely to

CAMEO IV.
Execution of Garnet.
1606.

convince him of the guilt of his course. He abhorred the plot as much as any man in England, and had done as much to prevent it as he held it lawful to do.

The law of England made no exception in favour of the confessional. In later times, Garnet would have been acquitted, his knowledge having been only at second hand, through Greenway; while even in that century, he could only be found guilty of misprision of treason, not treason itself, and the jury made their verdict simply that he had concealed the conspiracy.

Then there was a long delay. James seems to have been unwilling to let him be executed, but there were those at Court who too well understood the art of destroying the royal scruples of justice and mercy by practices such as deprived them of all right to talk of Jesuit deceit. Garnet was falsely informed that Greenway was in the Tower, and that 500 of his Church had conformed to the English in their horror at his connection with the plot. He was thus induced to write letters to Greenway, and to a lady named Anne Vaux, who really was in the Tower, vindicating himself, but these contained nothing that could harm himself or any one else. He also wrote to the King on his horror of the plot, though he had been forced to conceal what he knew only through confession. His enemies thought they had here another snare, and calling him before them, stated that Greenway admitted that the consultation with him had not been made under seal of confession. This was false, for Greenway was out of their reach, safe on the continent; but Garnet, believing him to be in their hands, could only say he had understood the matter as under the seal. Then, three weeks after the letter written in the Tower, he was asked whether he had corresponded with Greenway. Unfortunately he again denied that he had sent him letter or message, and was confuted by the letter so basely obtained. It is almost incredible that men so stained with treacherous practices should have had the face to examine him on his views as to the lawfulness of equivocation. He declared that the endeavour to force men to criminate themselves out of their own mouths was barbarous and unjust (even as the English justice now holds it), and therefore he declared that in self-defence equivocation, even confirmed by an oath, was justifiable.

Here was the fatal admission. It was easy to represent to James that the two false denials wrenched from the prisoner, and again this declaration, proved that no credit could be attached to his professions of innocence. The abhorrent thing is to see the men who employed deceit and treachery so lavishly as a means of ensnaring and hunting down their victim, making the far more venial denials of one, thus brought to bay, tell against him. But Henry Garnet's untruths—if they did not lead directly to his death—marred the nobleness of his martyr spirit. Six weeks after his sentence, James consented to his execution, which took place on the 3rd of May, 1606. The official account declared him to have confessed his guilt, but private letters say

CAMEO IV.

Prosecution of Northumberland. 1606.

that he persisted in denying all knowledge of the plot except through confession. He remained so calm and resolute, so pious and resigned, that all were struck by his demeanour, and the cruel details of the punishment for treason were delayed till he was dead. Zealous Romanists, regarding him as a saint and a martyr, gathered up the blood-stained straws beneath the scaffold, to be preserved as relics. The spots on one of these were supposed, by the aid of a little imagination, to represent Father Garnet's face surrounded with a halo of glory, and Garnet's straw was viewed as a miracle attesting his sanctity, likenesses thereof, ever increasingly distinct, being handed about among his admirers, so that it is wonderful that he was not canonised, since he was, by the acknowledgment of friends and enemies alike, a most blameless and devout man—a martyr to the secrecy of the confessional, and in our eyes only erring when, in the last extremity, he defended himself with a falsehood.

The consequences of the conspiracy were not yet at an end. All the noblemen, whom the conspirators would fain have spared, fell under suspicion, were thrown into the Tower, and condemned to pay heavy fines. The Earl of Northumberland was brought before the Star Chamber, and convicted of having been intended by Percy to be Regent, of having admitted that conspirator to be a gentleman pensioner without exacting the oath of supremacy, and of having written letters to his people in the north bidding them take care that Percy did not make off with his rents. For which heinous offences he was fined 300,000*l.*, and imprisoned during His Majesty's pleasure! On the other hand, Lord Monteagle was rewarded with a grant of lands, and 300*l.* a year for his life; while Robert Cecil for his vigilance in discovering the plot received the Earldom of Salisbury and the Order of the Garter.

Parliament had been adjourned, and when it met the next year it devised still more stringent measures for the repression of Roman Catholics. Seventy articles were passed, fining each person 20*l.* a month for absence from church, and 100*l.* for each child not baptized by a Protestant minister, disabling Romanists from all manner of public offices, disinheriting children educated beyond seas—in short, doing all that was possible to force uniformity on the recusants. All this was in spite of a sensible remonstrance from Henri IV., for it was the effect of terror on the public mind, and all the country was united on the point.

In fact, Queen Mary's fires and Catesby's plot had filled the English with a horror and dread of Popery which made them believe all Roman Catholics to be ever ready for any kind of treason and barbarity, and almost any weapon to be lawful against them.

CAMEO V.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN FRANCE.

(1605—1610.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1589. Henry IV.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1605. Paul V.

THE French saying was—

> "Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
> L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy,
> Maintenant, devise et caquette
> Regi par la Reine Jaquette."

James in truth took much less part in foreign affairs than his predecessor. Strangely enough, in spite of being a Scot, he inclined far more to Spain than to France, as perhaps his hereditary preference for the Guise and Valois party made him look on Henri IV. as an interloper, and perhaps as an apostate, for he never treated France with cordial friendship; and it is quite comprehensible that he should prefer the genuine old Popery of Spain to the new-fashioned Romanism of Henri, which professed to protect the Reformers, but yearly became more and more aggressive against them, even while the men whom, above all others, Henri trusted, were staunch Huguenots.

Rosny, whom he had made Duke of Sully and Grand Master of the Artillery, had been always more devoted to him and to his aggrandisement, than to any other consideration. Sully held that loyalty consisted in crushing whatever opposed the power of the crown, and never seems to have perceived that to take away all vestiges of independence from subjects of all ranks might lead to the annihilation of the religion for which he had fought.

Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon, had intrigued with Biron, and thus with Spain and Savoy. He had married into the Orange Nassau family, and was closely connected with the German Protestants, and therefore, Huguenot though he was, his little

independent principality of Sédan was dangerous, and must be taken away from him.

Sully was bidden to prepare a siege train, and fifty pieces of cannon were put in motion. Bouillon saw that resistance was useless, and consented to admit a garrison and commandant from the King. He remained in title Prince of Sédan, but his independence was over; the Calvinist university only existed on sufferance from the King, and the power of admitting German allies was lost to the Huguenots. Henri had bound himself to give no assistance to the Dutch, who still fought on pertinaciously with Spain. He would have been glad to see the war continue, since it weakened the chief foe of France, but the Spaniards themselves were weary of the war, although they had now a great commander in the Marquis Spinola, in whom Maurice of Nassau found his match. By sea, however, the Dutch were almost always successful. They had an East India Company, and were making settlements throughout the Southern Archipelago, and in the western main their flag not only was the signal of their own privateers, but was hoisted by pirates of all nations, English especially, who had not chosen to cease preying on Spanish ships because James had made peace. These "flibustiers," so called from *vlie boot* (a fly-boat), or buccaneers, from *boucan*, a strip of beef toasted on a sword, were as dreadful a torment to the Spanish settlements in America as ever the Moorish pirates were to the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. Their barbarities were dreadful, for they were composed of the most desperate adventurers of all countries, and they knew neither honour nor pity. Peace could not put a stop to the outrages of these lawless men; but it would at least deprive them of appearing to have the sanction of any government, and the King of Spain, Philip III., and his minister, the Duke of Lerma, were desirous to close the war. So likewise were the Archduke Albert, and his wife Isabel; and even in Holland, Barneveldt was the head of a peace party. A Franciscan monk of Antwerp, named Negen, was commissioned to begin the negotiation in 1607, and after two years of intrigues and counter intrigues, the mediation of James I. and Henri IV. finally interposed. Spain acknowledged the freedom of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and on the 11th of January, 1609, a treaty was signed at Antwerp which put an end to the seventy years' war of Dutch independence.

The relief to both Holland and the Netherlands was immense, and from that time forward the States of Holland ranked among European nations, and for more than a century afterwards had a very considerable influence on the affairs of Europe, chiefly through their navy, the only real rival to that of England.

France, above all other countries, needed tranquillity, for the deplorable struggle of an entire generation had checked all her industries. Almost all the royal demesnes had been alienated, the crown was deeply in debt, there was hardly any commerce or manufacture, and agriculture was in a miserable state; everybody lived from hand to

CAMEO V.
Henri IV. and Sully.
1599.

mouth, there was ruin everywhere, and though the taxes and customs weighed heavily, they brought in a sum very insufficient to meet the government expenses.

Henri broke up the old council of finance in 1599, and gave the whole direction of the revenue to the Duke of Sully. In ten years' time, in 1609, this able minister was able to render in an account of a hundred million livres of debts paid, thirty-five millions spent in redeeming royal property, and twenty-two laid up in the treasury at the Bastille, besides a fair proportion spent on the court, the army, and public improvements, and also in pensioning nobles who held offices about the King's person.

This had been effected in great part by excellent management, preventing waste and peculation among the collectors of the revenue, and other officials, and by the prosperity of those who paid these taxes, namely, the bourgeoisie and peasantry. None of the clergy, nor of the nobility, to the remotest generation, were taxed; the one order being supposed to pray for the State, the other to fight for it; and Sully, able and honest as he certainly was, could not rise above his generation, and, in his devotion to the crown, threw himself into a pernicious system. Probably Henri's crown was not secure enough for him to venture to lay taxes on the entire nation, and no subject would have perceived the wholesome effect produced by the power of remonstrance conferred by holding the purse-strings; but it might have been possible to look on far enough to perceive that to pension the nobles in order to keep them quiet must in time enervate their character. Moreover, magistrates were not only allowed to purchase their offices for themselves, but to secure them for their sons, by paying beforehand at a fixed rate for them. This plan was invented by a man named Paulet, and the fee was therefore termed la Paulette. It became a terrible abuse, but Sully, at the moment, only saw in it a means of filling the treasury.

He was very anxious to encourage agriculture, and his favourite saying was, "Tillage and pasturage are the two breasts that nourish France;" whilst the King himself said that he longed for the day when every poor man should have a fowl in his pot—a very different spirit from that which had ground down Jacques Bonhomme; though neither King nor Duke seem to have seen that poor Jacques could hardly enjoy his fowl, if he had to feed all the nobles who were kept tame about court.

However, the *Theatre of Agriculture*, by Oliver de Sèvres, was a book much esteemed by Henri, who also did much to promote the manufacture of silk. Louis XI., the last King of France who had had any notion of statesmanship, had planted mulberries about his den at Plessis les Tours, but they had not extended much farther; and it was Henri who encouraged the culture and weaving of silk in Southern France, especially round Lyons and in Poitou. Sully disliked the manufacture, being afraid of luxury and the arts that encourage it, but

the work was much taken up by the Huguenots, whose severe code and greater intelligence rendered them much more industrious than their countrymen. The same dread of luxury made Sully slow to come into Henri's plans of encouraging commerce, not perceiving, as did his larger-minded master, that no royal navy will thrive unless there be a commercial navy to breed sailors and give an interest in the sea.

Henri tried to get an East India Company formed, but in vain; and he sent forth an expedition to explore North America, conducted by Champlain and De Chaste, who fixed their settlements in what they named Acadie, but what we now know as Canada, and chose the sites of Quebec and Montreal. Furs and cod soon began to be imported into France, and her first and most successful colony thus commenced.

At home, bridges were mended, fresh ones made, the ruins perpetrated in the forty years' civil war repaired or removed, roads made throughout the kingdom, embankments and landing-places on the banks, posting-houses established, with relays of horses for travellers; and all along the roads lines of elms were planted, forming avenues which, in the Orleannais and the Isle of France, still bear the name of Rosnis.

Henri found the Church in as pitiable a condition as the State. Ever since the Concordat of Bologna, perhaps more truly ever since the transfer of the papacy to Avignon, the Gallic Church had been on a downward path; for bondage to the crown, and the exercise of patronage for State purposes, had led to unspeakable abuses throughout the whole body. Upon this came the revolt of Calvinism, when the purity of morals, and freedom from gross superstition, attracted the noble spirits in the nation—even when they did not go all lengths in its distinctive doctrines. Forty years of civil war, and the fanatic excesses of the iconoclast Huguenot on the one side, and the furious Leaguer on the other, had been a terrible judgment on the past, and a new race had sprung up on whom what is sometimes called the Anti-Reformation had had its effect, namely the spirit of zeal and purity that arose within the Church of Rome under the chastisement of the Reformation, and which was fostered by the real improvements in doctrine and discipline established, in spite of all its errors, by the Council of Trent.

In fact, since the time of S. Louis, there had not been such a revival in the French Church as now set in. Between that good King and the year 1600, Alban Butler only reckons as French saints one Bishop and three Nuns, one being the unfortunate Jeanne de Valois. Afterwards they throng the calendar for about a century ere the stifling influence again fully prevailed.

The outward and visible state of the Church was a testimony to the ruin within. In 1595 an assembly of the clergy reported to the King that out of fourteen archiepiscopal sees, half were vacant; out of

CAMEO V.
State of the Church.

about a hundred bishoprics, forty were empty, and of the rest, some had only temporary Bishops *de partibus infidelium*, or irregularly-appointed ones; and three-fourths of the parishes were without priests. As to the abbeys, they were worse. In twenty-five dioceses there were a hundred and twenty convents without lawful superiors. Some abbeys had no monks, and their lands were the endowment of some nobleman's or state minister's younger son, who, by bearing the title of Abbé, and abstaining from marriage, was provided for for life without the performance of any duties. This abuse had begun long before the Reformation, and was never entirely abolished till the final wreck of all institutions in France. There was a greater inclination among the earnest-minded to found new religious orders than to make the best of the old ones, and very large numbers of the ancient foundations for men remained deserted. The nunneries were more kept up, since a provision for unmarried daughters was wanted, and an abbess could not amuse herself openly in the world without scandal; but we have a specimen of the appointments to these houses in the history of the Arnauld family, people pious and conscientious above the average.

M. Arnauld was a sincere convert from Calvinism, and an advocate of some note. He had married the daughter of M. Marion, the Advocate-General, who was in high esteem with Henri IV. As twenty children in succession were born to Madame Arnauld, it was considered the natural part of a good grandfather to ask the King to make some of them abbots and abbesses. So the Abbey of Port Royal aux Champs and the Coadjutorship and succession to that of S. Cyr were requested and conferred on Jaqueline and Jeanne Arnauld, litttle girls of seven and five years old. On hearing the news the children ran off in high glee to tell the rest of the household, but Jeanne came back looking grave, and saying "Grandpapa, they tell me an abbess must answer for the souls of her nuns, and I have enough to do to answer for my own;" while Jaqueline with strong determination said, "I shall make my nuns do their duty." The poor little things entered on their novitiate, Jeanne at S. Cyr, and Jaqueline, strange to say, at Maubuisson, which was under Antoinette d'Estrées, sister to Gabrielle, without her sweet temper, and equally immoral in life, with far less temptation. However, the child was placed under the care of a good nun. At the end of a year the little creatures professed and took the veil, their names being changed to Angélique and Agnès, this being a trick to cheat the Pope, who had demurred at confirming the appointment of the ten-years-old Jaqueline, but consented to that of one whom he was led to suppose was another sister, aged seventeen!

Port Royal was situated in a wooded valley, near a marshy lake, not far from Versailles. The little abbess took up her abode there when ten years old, and good Madame Arnauld was considered a model of excellence for looking into the character of the nuns, and procuring

the removal of the only one who was regarded as a scandal. Such trifles as going out visiting, playing at cards, wearing carefully-dressed hair and starched ruffs, with masks and gloves to preserve their complexions, were not objected to, provided they did not, like some of their sisterhoods, meet the nearest monks in the forest for hunting parties, ending in a feast and a dance in the grassy glades. Their confessor could not say the Lord's Prayer in French, never preached except when a nun professed, and on Candlemas Day there was no mass because everybody was preparing for a carnival masquerade. And this was a highly respectable convent! It was long remembered how, when Henri IV. was led by the chase into the grounds, the dignified little abbess marched out at the head of her nuns and exchanged courtesies with him, to his great amusement. From such a specimen of really good people an idea may be gathered of the usual state of convents.

As to the fabrics themselves, full 150 cathedrals and abbey churches were lying in ruins, besides parish churches which had been destroyed in all the cities and districts where the Huguenots had had the upper hand. Not a single one was left standing at Orleans, when Henri and his Queen laid the foundation of the existing cathedral in 1601. Church building went on everywhere, mostly in the semi-classical style of the period, and adapted to those large structures over the Host which had not been provided for in the Gothic times.

A great force was put on Henri to make him consent to recall the Jesuits, but they had been condemned by the Sorbonne, and the Parliament of Paris, Catholic as it was, protested against them, and so did most of his ministers, so that he could not at once perform his promise to the Pope that he would rescind their sentence of banishment. At last, however, a Huguenot synod held at Gap, in its irritation at the numerous conversions that thinned their ranks, made it an article of faith that the Pope was Antichrist, and to pacify Paul V., Henri permitted the return of the Order, keeping one of their number, Father Cotton, at his Court as a sort of hostage for the rest. He told Sully that, as things stood, he had only the choice of receiving them and making them his friends, or of being a mark for their plots and conspiracies. Indeed, there is no doubt that their tactics had undergone a great change, and that Rome had learnt that violence and assassination did not serve her cause effectually.

Great efforts were being made to reconvert the Huguenots. One of the foremost in the matter was Jean Davy du Perron. He belonged to a Norman family, which in the first days of persecution had fled into Switzerland, and he had been born at Geneva, but as he grew up, Calvinist doctrine did not satisfy him, and after much study of the Fathers and schoolmen, he had joined the Church. He was at first a Leaguer, but afterwards took part with Henri IV., and contributed much to his conversion. Afterwards he was the chief antagonist at that conference in which Duplessis Mornay broke down so entirely. One of the lookers-on said Duplessis was the Pope himself, for he

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Casaubon.

was going to give a red hat to Perron, and so it proved, for, as a reward for his victory, the hat arrived from Rome, and Perron became a Cardinal, as well as Archbishop of Sens and Grand Almoner of France.

He was held to be especially effective in convincing educated men. One person who was influenced by him was Isaac Casaubon, a noted Swiss scholar, who was present at the conference, and gave his judgment against Duplessis Mornay. Further study so unsettled Casaubon, that not being able to accept Romanism, he went to England, and was much favoured by James I., who made him a canon of Westminster, though he was never entirely liked or trusted by the English clergy. Of his two sons, one returned to France, and with his blessing became a Capuchin; the other was an English clergyman, but with enough of the Calvinist about him to be a friend of Cromwell. Among the ecclesiastics who were most earnest in the work of restoration of all kinds, was François de Sales, the second son of the Count de Boisy, a Savoyard, and one of those saintly and gentle characters whose whole course is one of innocence and zeal. While quite a young man, he and another priest went on a mission into Chablais, where the inhabitants were almost all Calvinists, and very rude and violent. The two priests were often in great danger during the first year, and endured great hardships, but their gentleness and patience won the people's hearts, and finally whole parishes and districts were reconciled to the Church; severe measures had been adopted in vain by the Dukes of Savoy, but François's gentleness succeeded. François was made Coadjutor Bishop of Geneva, and afterwards succeeded to the see, but there was little or no opportunity of exercising his pastorate on the city itself, and he chiefly lived at Annecy, in Savoy, where he had a devoted flock, and was near the home of his parents. He preached a course of Lent sermons at the Louvre in 1602, and Henri IV. was much impressed by them, and wished to give him preferment in France, but he would not forsake his native province. Deep piety, clear good sense, and a certain elegance of mind rendered his sermons and writings most attractive, and his influence was very great.

One of those who were moulded by it was a young widow, Jeanne Françoise de Chantal. She was the daughter of Benigne Fremyot, the President of the Parliament of Dijon, a good old man, and so staunch both to loyalty and Catholicism, that the tidings that the Huguenot Henri IV. had become king caused him such distress as to turn half his hair white in one night. As a true subject, he followed the royal standard, but as a Catholic, he refused all favours until the King had joined the Church. Yet even he saw no objection, after the King's conversion, to receiving *in commendam* the great Abbey of S. Etienne and the Archbishopric of Bourges, since he was a widower and intended to take Holy Orders. It turned out, however, that as he had had two wives, this was uncanonical, whereupon both abbey and archbishopric were made over to his son Antoine; but the Abbey, which apparently

contained no monks, became the home of the old President and his family.

His daughter, Jeanne Françoise, was married to Christophe de Rabutin, Baron de Chantal, a good man himself, though with a wicked old father, with whom, however, they did not live. She spent much of her time in waiting on the poor and sick, though she was always ready to be the hospitable lady of the house. M. de Chantal had baronial jurisdiction, and we have a strange peep at the country life of those times, when we find that there were apt to be prisoners in the dungeons of the castle, lying on straw, in darkness, and that at night Madame la Baronne used to get up, give them a good meal, and a rest on a comfortable bed—acts well known to her kindly husband. She had four little children, one under a month old, when the Baron was accidentally shot by a friend in a hunting party. From this time the devout and somewhat severe spirit which had guided her whole life pervaded her every action, leading her to fierce self-reproach and self-torture, while she had much to suffer externally from old M. de Rabutin, her father-in-law, with whom she now had to reside. He was a man of evil habits, and was under influences that made him unkind and contemptuous to her and her children. Her holiday times were visits to her own father at Dijon, and here she heard a course of Lent sermons from the great Savoyard Bishop. At the very first of them, he remarked her earnest and spiritual countenance, and he asked the Archbishop of Bourges, her brother, who the lady was. He became the intimate friend of the Fremyot family, and the director and guide through whom Madame de Chantal was led into the way of peace, not through "bodily exercise" and inward and outward self-torture, but through heavenly love.

The great vision of François de Sales was to establish an order of nuns, who might be the tender mothers and nurses of the poor and sick. He intended them to begin their work at Annecy, under his own eye and for his own flock. He saw in Jeanne Françoise de Chantal the very woman to carry out his views, since she was at once full of the love of God and man, an excellent nurse, accustomed to the poor, and likewise a member of a high-born family, able to transact business. Her children were the chief difficulty in the way, and for the mother's conduct in the matter, blame has been cast on her; but when the matter is examined into, it was really the best thing she could do for them, to take them out of reach of their paternal grandfather. The youngest child died; the eldest, Marie Aymée, was married at fourteen to the youngest brother of the Bishop of Geneva. She was to live at Annecy close under her mother's eye; the other sister, Françoise, could be educated in the convent; and the only boy, Celse Benigne, would be removed from the evil influences of M. de Rabutin and educated at Dijon, under the care of his other good grandfather. The lad was vehement, and passionately fond of his mother, and when the time of her departure came, some stories assert that he threw himself across the threshold and declared that she should only leave the house over his body!

CAMEO V.

The Order of the Visitation.

It was in 1610 that Madame de Chantal and three more ladies, all hitherto unknown to her, but selected by the Bishop, met in a little house at Annecy, and began what in time became the Order of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, and numbered multitudes of the noblest ladies in France. The name was chosen by François in allusion to his intention that they should visit the poor at their houses, but as soon as the work began to spread, and further sanction was required for it, there was a general outcry against having an order of uncloistered sisters, and François's Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Lyons, remonstrated so strongly that out of canonical submission and obedience, the intention was given up, and the Visitation merely became an educational order of nuns, and did such work as could be effected within the cloister.

The Carmelite sisters, founded by S. Theresa, likewise began at this time to have houses in France; and there was certainly a great spirit of quickened devotion everywhere, though as the devout usually betook themselves to the cloister, the world was but little leavened by their religion. The King himself encouraged good works, listened to sermons, and was far from being an unbeliever; but he really seemed to think immorality no sin at all, and his example was a constant source of evil.

The Queen had outbursts of ill-temper, but as Henri never failed in courtesy and good-humour, he came off the best in their encounters, and on the whole she had accommodated herself to the habits which seemed ingrained in his nature, so as to show no displeasure at his continual passion for one lady after another. There were six children, and Henri was their playmate. An ambassador found him on all-fours with the Dauphin on his back.

"Are you a father?" said the King.

"Yes, sire."

"Then we will finish our game."

He was fifty-six, grey-headed and grey-bearded, but lithe and active as ever, and youthful in all his tastes, and unhappy in his passions, for age and habit seemed only to have entirely removed all sense of shame. Early in 1609 there came to court a daughter of the Montmorency family, Charlotte Marguerite, a lovely girl of sixteen, with beautiful blonde tresses, so that the courtiers declared nothing so perfect in grace or beauty had been seen. She had been promised to the diplomatist, Marshal de la Bassompierre, but the King said to him—"I am furiously in love with her. I shall hate you if you marry her. Give her up. I'll find you a match, and I'll give her to my young cousin of Condé, who cares for nothing but hunting." Bassompierre says in his memoirs that he was overwhelmed, and could neither eat nor sleep for some days, but he knew that he should have no peace or prosperity unless he yielded up his betrothed, so he submitted; and Charlotte was given to the Prince of Condé, a dull youth of twenty-one, so poor that the King thought he could do as he pleased with

him. But Henri found himself mistaken. The Prince carried his beautiful bride off to Moret, and kept a careful watch over her, while the King actually put on disguises and eluded the vigilance of her guardians that he might exchange a few words with her.

"How mad he is!" cried the girl, laughing, and treating all as a game of hide-and-seek. At last, one November morning at five o'clock, the Prince put her on horseback behind a servant, her maid behind another, mounted a third horse himself, and with two gentlemen galloped off towards Landrecies, the nearest city in the Netherlands!

Henri was furious at the tidings. In vain did Sully try to make him perceive that his anger was simply disgusting to all reasonable people. He actually sent to inform the archduke Albert that he should regard it an act of hostility to give any shelter to his runaway subject, and in the strong desire of the Netherlandish government to remain at peace, the Prince was advised not to come to Brussels, though the Infanta Archduchess Isabel received the Princess kindly and placed her under the charge of her aunt, the Princess of Orange, who was daughter to Henri, the second Condé, and wife of him who had so long been a prisoner in Spain, while the Prince betook himself to Lombardy, and was received honourably by the Count of Fuentes. Henri really was like one mad in this matter! One can hardly believe that a man of such undoubted ability should have been willing to make himself so ridiculous. He corresponded with the lady through his ambassador's wife, and the fair Charlotte, who seems to have been a silly, vain, childish creature, with her head somewhat turned by his violent admiration and by the commotion her charms had caused, found his letters a pleasing amusement in her dull life with the grave and serious Princess of Orange and the decorous Spanish Infanta. Then the King desired Annibal d'Estrées, the brother of Gabrielle, to steal her from her aunt's house, and this plan would have succeeded had not Henri actually boasted of it to his own wife, who warned the Spanish ambassador in time to despatch a courier to the Archduke.

This disgraceful affair made Henri resolve on war with the protectors of the fugitives. A cause was not wanting. The last Duke of Cleves had died, imbecile and childless, in March, 1609. He had left several sisters, whose families claimed his inheritance, but Leopold of Austria, the Bishop of Strasburg, interposed, declaring that as a male fief it lapsed to the empire.

Cleves was a Protestant country, and the heirs of the two sisters, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, were Protestant. The German Lutherans were very anxious that the lands should not fall into the power of the House of Austria, as they would open a way from the Netherlands into the midst of their principalities. They considered Henri IV. and James I. their protectors, but James would not concern himself about them, and Henri had

CAMEO V. — *Henri's designs of war. 1609.*

appeared willing to settle the matter by negotiation, until the protection afforded to the Princess of Condé by the regents of the Netherlands filled him with such fury that he resolved on taking up arms, broke off all treaty as to Cleves, and began his preparations for a campaign.

He placed 6,000 hired Swiss infantry under the Duke of Rohan, a grand train of artillery was under Sully's son, the Marquis de Rosny, 30,000 other troops were being levied, and Maurice of Nassau and the Dutch were quite ready to begin another war for the sake of Cleves and Juliers.

It was to be a foreign expedition, led by the King in person, and therefore a regency was necessary, and the Queen was the obvious regent. Marie de Medicis, however, declared that she could not act as regent unless she were solemnly crowned. She had good reason to insist, for there had been wild talk, in which even the Montmorencys had joined, of her being divorced in order to make a Queen of the beautiful Charlotte. Henri had divorced one wife, to marry her, and who could tell what decrees he might obtain from Rome? So she insisted on her coronation in order to obtain public recognition.

Henri had a great dislike to the idea, partly because it involved a public ceremony in Paris, where the embers of the fanaticism of the League were still smouldering, and he never felt his life secure. He came to the Arsenal, where he always liked to visit Sully, who lived there as Master General of the Ordnance, and began—

"*Hé mon ami*, how I hate this coronation! I cannot tell what it is, but my heart foretells some disaster."

Then sitting down in a low chair, which had been made on purpose for him, musing and tapping his spectacle-case with his finger, he suddenly started up and clapping his hands on his thighs, said—

"I shall die in this town and never leave it. They will kill me, for they have no remedy save my death. Ah! cursed coronation, you will be the cause of my death. For to hide nothing from you I have been told that I shall be killed on the first great occasion of magnificence, and that I shall die in a coach. That is what makes me so much afraid."

"You never told me so before," said Sully; "and I have often wondered to hear you cry out in a coach as if afraid of the slightest peril, after having seen you so often fearless amidst cannons, muskets, lances, pikes, and swords. But since you have this notion, and you are so much distressed by it, if I were you, I would go away to-morrow; let them manage the coronation without you, or put it off to some other time, and I would neither enter Paris nor get into a carriage. If you like, I will send to S. Denys and Notre Dame to stop the workmen."

"I should be very willing," said the King, "but what would my wife say? She is wonderfully set on this coronation."

"She may say what she will," returned the Duke; "but I cannot believe that she will insist when she knows what you expect."

CAMEO V.
Coronation of Marie de Medicis.
1610.

Marie de Medicis did however insist, and after three days of disputing the workmen continued, and the day was fixed for the 13th of May, the State entrance into Paris for the 16th. Sully fell ill from the effects of an old wound; the Count of Soissons took offence and retired into the country, because the Queen's mantle was embroidered with *fleurs de lys*—a distinction which he said belonged only to princes of the blood, and almost all the King's oldest friends were absent.

The coronation was performed by the Cardinal de Joyeuse, the same who had become a priest in his grief for the loss of his young wife. Henri himself did not appear publicly, but looked on from a private chapel. He was very cheerful during the greater part of the day, but at the height of the splendid ceremonial he shuddered, and whispered to the friend beside him—

"How would all this appear if this were the Last Day, and the Judge were suddenly to show Himself?"

It was remarked by some that the Gospel for the day, which had been suppressed by that for the coronation service, was the 19th chapter of S. Matthew, verse 3, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?"

Henri was not quite himself the next day, and said to the Duke of Guise and to Bassompierre—

"When I am dead you will know what I am worth."

Bassompiere asked how he could so speak in full health and power, with everything imaginable to enjoy?

"Friend, I must leave it all," he answered.

A woman with some difficulty forced her way to the Queen and warned her that a man was come out of the Duke of Epernon's country to kill the King, but Marie did not understand her, and said she was a wicked woman who accused everybody.

Sully was still confined to his room at the Arsenal, and the King wanted to see him after dinner, but was in two minds about going, saying to the Queen—

"*Ma mie*, shall I go? shall I not?" He even came back several times to the room, saying again, "Shall I go?" and the last time he kissed the Queen several times, saying, "Adieu;" but adding, "I shall only go and come. I shall be back again instantly."

At the bottom of the steps, where the carriage awaited him, he found Praslin, the captain of his guard, ready to attend him, but he dismissed him, saying he wanted no one.

The carriage had all the windows open. By his side was the Duke of Epernon, opposite the Marquis of Mirabeau, and Liancourt his equerry. In the wings which projected at the doors sat four more gentlemen. On coming to the Croix du Tiroir, he was asked where he would go. He said to S. Innocent, near the end of the Rue S. Honoré. A waggon was in the way, and the horses had to draw nearer the ironmongers' shops, and to slacken their pace, but without stopping. Close to a shop whose

CAMEO V. — *Assassination of Henri IV.* 1610.

sign, curiously enough, was a crowned heart pierced by an arrow, a man darted out and sprang on the wheel. The King had his left arm raised, his hand on M. de Montbazon's shoulder, and with the other arm was leaning on M. d'Epernon, to whom he was speaking. The man thus was able to strike him two blows with a short knife. The first glanced off, but the second penetrated between the fifth and sixth ribs, and going downwards, pierced a great artery. The King gave a little cry, at the first blow—

"I am wounded!"

M. de Montbazon asked—

"What is it, sire?"

"Nothing," he replied, and these were the only words he spoke.

Some of the gentlemen sprang after the murderer, and seized him. Epernon spread his cloak over the King, the coach was closed and turned. At the foot of the steps of the Louvre, wine was poured down Henri's throat, and when his head was raised, he moved his eyes but closed them. He was carried into the palace, and laid on the nearest bed. One of his councillors laid the cross of his order on his mouth, and spoke of God. The physician stood weeping, his surgeons were about to seek for the wound, but he gave a slight sigh, and the physician exclaimed—

"It is over!"

Instantly the Chancellor Sillery and two others ran into the Queen's apartment. She had heard of the wound, and cried—

"*Hélas*, the King is dead."

"Madame, you are mistaken," said Sillery, "the King of France never dies."

She had not cared for her husband enough to be prostrated with grief, and there was a moment of alarm lest a Spanish plot should have caused the murder, and the days of the League were to begin. Sully, on the first tidings, had mounted with forty more, and was riding to the Louvre when he met Guise and Bassompierre who told him the King had expired.

"Messieurs," he cried, "if your duty you vowed to the King is as strong in you as it should be in all good Frenchmen, swear to show the same fidelity to his son, and to shed your blood to avenge his death."

"Monsieur," returned Bassompierre, "we are making others take the oath. We need not be exhorted."

Sully, however, shut himself up in the Bastille, collected bread from the bakers and markets, and sent orders to his son-in-law, the Duke de Rohan, to bring 6,000 Swiss troops to the neighbourhood of Paris. The crown, however, was in no danger. The assassin denied that he had any accomplices. Everybody paid ready homage to the little eight-year-old Louis XIII. Sully came to the Louvre, and the Queen told her boy that here was one of his father's most faithful servants, and on the next day, she herself took the child to the Parliament,

and was confirmed by it in the regency. The Princes of the blood royal, who should have shared it with her, were absent, and Marie de Medicis, with her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife, became the rulers of France.

The murderer was a fanatic schoolmaster, named François Ravaillac, who had come from Angoulême, driven on by hallucinations to hinder the King from the war, which he considered to be against the Holy Father the Pope, and to summon him to force the heretics back into the Church. His visions finally led him on from designs of expostulation to an impulse of murder.

No torture availed to draw from him any admissions that he had been instigated by any one. When he was brought out for execution on a hurdle to the Place de la Grève, there was such a shout of execration as seemed to bring Heaven and earth together, and this was the only thing that seemed to shake the firmness of the wretched man, who had fancied the people would have been with him. For two hours the executioners tore out pieces of his flesh with red-hot pincers, but all the time he repeated—

"I alone did it." At last, as horses were being fastened to his limbs to wrench them asunder, he murmured an entreaty that a "*Salve Regina*" might be said for his soul; but there was a savage roar in reply—

"Let him perish like Judas!"

The book defending tyrannicide, was ordered, by the Parliament of Paris, to be burnt by the hangman, while Father Cotton declared it to have been long since disavowed and condemned by the Jesuits. Yet no doubt, whatever they might now feel, the deaths of Henri III. and IV., and the designs on Elizabeth and James I., sprang from the past policy which had used murder against William the Silent.

And thus, in Henri IV., passes away one of the most attractive figures in history. His ready kindness, his buoyant spirits, his unfailing good-humour, and the generous sweetness with which he forgave his enemies, his genuine love for his people, endear him so much that it is true of him even outwardly that his charity covers a multitude of sins. Yet those very charms made the effect of his example more mischievous. His shameless licentiousness might have done less harm had he not been so great a man. In truth, the Court of France under Catherine de Medicis had been such a school of every sort of vice, that no one could emerge from it untainted, and perhaps the only marvel was that Henri preserved his sense of Christian honour and mercy intact while his morality was so utterly destroyed. He had not, by any means, lost the sense of religion, and was no hypocrite when he joined the Roman Catholic Church; but his conscience had been seared in the seething caldron of vice to which he had been exposed in early youth.

Called before his Judge in his full career, without an hour to turn to

CAMEO V.
Character of Henri IV.
1610.

Him and ask for pardon, we can only hope that one who had always been ready to show mercy and to forgive others, found mercy in his turn.

Even now, at this distance of time, there is something so lovable about him that we can feel how his Roman Catholic subjects must have prayed that the soul, "unhouselled, disappointed, unannealed," might find forgiveness for the sins not yet, alas! discarded nor repented.

CAMEO VI.

PURITAN ASCENDENCY.

(1604—1612.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1605. Paul V.

IT would have needed a very winning prince to overcome the national dislike to a Scot in England, and James I. certainly had no charm of person, manner, or wit. Perhaps one cause of the tranquillity of his reign was, that he was so much laughed at that people never seriously thought of blaming him for their grievances. Or if they approached him in displeasure, one of his pawky unexpected replies would disconcert them, and turn the tables on them.

And he was by no means offended at a cleverly administered rebuke. Once when he was hunting at Royston, his favourite hound, Jowler, was lost for a night, but was recovered the next day with a paper sticking in his collar, on which was written, "Good Mr. Jowler, we pray you speak to the King (for he hears you every day, and so he doth not us), that it please his Majesty to go back to London, for else the country will be undone; all our provision is spent, and we shall not be able to maintain him any longer." The King took the jest in good part, but he still remained a fortnight longer, eating up the provisions of the poor Hertfordshire people without remorse. This right of purveyance, namely, of forcing the sale of provisions for the use of the royal household, was one of the standing grievances of the age, and was classed with the monopolies, giving exclusive rights to sell certain articles, and the power of imprisonment during the King's pleasure. Poor Jowler was killed by a chance bolt from the Queen's crossbow. The King stormed over his dead favourite, till he heard who had shot the bolt. Then to console his wife for the damage she had done, and to assure her of his forgiveness, he sent her a jewel worth 2,000*l.*

Another grievance for which he was not responsible so much as were the nobles and gentry of the country, was the inclosing of common

CAMEO VI.

Growth of the middle class in England.

lands. In each manor or village, there had always from the earliest ages, been home fields for tillage appropriated to each family, while there was other ground left open where all might feed their cattle in common. The right was the more important that comparatively very little coin was in circulation, wages were an insufficient maintenance, there was little vegetable food, and the chief dependence of the poor was on their cow, goat, sheep or poultry, the one or two sheep providing their clothing. In the changes of property that had taken place after the ruin of the great nobles in the Wars of the Roses, and of the monasteries under Henry VIII., new proprietors had come in who were determined to make the most of their acquisitions, and inclosed the waste lands for fields or parks. This was misery and starvation to the poor, and the great rising of Ket, under Edward VI., had been thus caused. Laws had been made against these inclosures, royal proclamations forbade them, but where there were no newspapers, a local potentate could easily have his will, unconstrained by public opinion, and a new lord of the manor seldom came in without trying how much fresh land he could grasp. There had been confiscations of the lands of the conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot; and commons which the old Roman Catholic families had let alone and did not care for, were immediately thrown into parks by the new comers.

There began in the summer of 1607, to be great assemblages of peasantry, provoked by this invasion of their rights. At Hill Norton, which had belonged to the Treshams, 3,000 thus came together, at Collestrich 5,000, and all were directed by a man named Reynolds, whom they called Captain Pouch, from a large pocket at his belt. He trod in the steps of Ket, professed to be inspired, and to have the King's licence, as well as to be invulnerable, and he forbade all profanity, robbery, or personal violence, but led his men about, pulling down all recent inclosures, filling up ditches, and demolishing walls; while any gentleman who ventured to remonstrate was overpowered, and made to labour at the ruin of his own fences. When the magistrates ordered them to disperse, they answered that they were doing nothing unlawful in throwing down what had been set up illegally.

James was unwilling to be severe with them, thinking that the right was on their side; but he had no notion of exerting himself to go to the spot and judge between the parties. He ordered off from his Court all the nobles whose lands lay in the midland counties, the seat of the disturbance; and they, getting bands of gentlemen together, rode down and dispersed the rioters, killing those who made resistance. Captain Pouch and the ringleaders were executed for having borne arms against the Sovereign, and others for not having dispersed at the reading of the proclamation; and thus ended the disturbance. There were elements of discord for the future, but for the present all was quiet.

Meantime, in 1606, the Queen had had a visit from her brother Christiern IV. of Denmark. He came when she was a prisoner in her

CAMEO VI.

Visit of the King of Denmark. 1606.

chamber at Greenwich, three weeks after the birth of an infant, who only lived long enough to be baptised. And in her absence the two Kings indulged in considerable revelries, after the Danish fashion which James admired so much. On one especial occasion, when Cecil entertained them at Theobalds, there was a pageant at which every one seems to have been intoxicated, even the person representing the Queen of Sheba, who stumbled when presenting the gifts of wine to the English Solomon, and upset them into his lap. This disgraceful scene is reported by Sir John Harrington; and the behaviour of the mock queen has been most unjustly saddled on poor Queen Anne of Denmark, who did not emerge from her sick room at Greenwich till a week later, when, on the 3rd of August, the two kings were present at her churching, and she and her brother were judged by all the Court to be so much alike that the picture of one would almost serve for the other.

On the 10th, Queen Anne, together with her eldest son, accompanied the two Kings to an entertainment given on board the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the largest English vessel which was then lying at Chatham, and from whence they could see the whole English navy, in which the King took great delight. The next day King Christiern returned the compliment by a banquet on board his own principal ship, when every time the royal guests pledged one another it was announced by drum and trumpet, and moreover by the ship's cannon, answered by those in all the forts on the Thames. Queen Anne must have been nearly deafened, and ready to agree with Shakespeare that this Danish fashion was "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

The diversions concluded with a grand display of fireworks with a device of King Christiern's own; but unfortunately time and tide hurried his departure, so that it had to be displayed in broad August daylight, before the English King and Queen returned to Woolwich. Lord Nottingham, the High Admiral, came to hasten their departure, and in the course of the endeavour to come to an understanding with the Danish King, who comprehended as little English as the Admiral did of Danish, the Queen fell into such fits of laughter that the old lord thought she was deriding him and his young wife, Margaret Stewart, and there was a very serious quarrel in consequence. Christiern, on his departure, gave his nephew, Prince Henry, his best ship of war, which was valued at 25,000*l.*

James and Anne had fallen in love with Theobalds from their first entertainment there, and they induced Lord Salisbury to exchange it with the Queen for her dower palace of Hatfield, when it became the King's favourite hunting palace. Salisbury, by exerting a little address and flattery, had been able to make himself far more paramount at Court than his wise father, Lord Burleigh, had ever been.

The father was a statesman, the son was only a placeman, but the long habit of business, and familiarity with its details, rendered him absolutely necessary to James. Another visitor was received at Court,

CAMEO VI.
The Union attempted.
1607.

the Prince of Vaudémont, of the house of Guise, who was feasted with great splendour.

When he departed, in November, James met his Parliament again full of a project of his own, but one for which matters were not yet ripe, namely, the union of his two kingdoms. He caused commissioners to be appointed on either side, but he found both realms equally averse. Scotland could not be put first, and would not be put last. Each party hated the other, the nearest neighbours on the Borders more especially did so; and the English were already so angered by the influx of Scots that they did not wish to throw open all public offices to them on equal terms with themselves. The speeches in Parliament were far from complimentary to the Scots. One member quoted Scripture against the Union, and compared it to that between Abram and Lot, and another, Sir Christopher Pigot, declared that the difference between Englishman and Scotsman was that between judge and thief. This, James very reasonably said, was an insult to himself; he blamed Cecil for having allowed such things to pass, and rebuked and threatened so that they expelled Pigot and committed him to the Tower.

Bacon, the Solicitor-General, made one of his best speeches in favour of the Union, declaring that "it must be confessed that for the good of the mind and body they are *alteri nos* (our other selves); for to do them but right, we know in their capacities and understandings they are a people ingenious; in labour, industrious; in courage, valiant; in body, hard, active, and comely."

However, James could only accomplish thus much. He called himself King of Great Britain on all his coins, and in 1607 the Parliament of each kingdom repealed all the former Acts passed on the understanding that they were in a chronic state of war, such as making it treason for a Scot to tarry in England without permission from the King; and, on the other hand, an English Act against heiresses marrying "broken Scotsmen"; while all the Border rules about the retaliation of raids and forays, by which the wardens had acted irrespective of peace or war, were happily done away with, although it was not for a generation or two that Border thievery became extinct, or the good burghers of Carlisle became willing to accept an apprentice from the banks of the Tweed.

The assimilation of the religion of Scotland to that of England was another matter near James's heart. At Hampton Court he had quite made up his mind that the English Church was that by which to live and die, and that it alone made loyal subjects, and for his own good and theirs, he was resolved that his Scottish lieges should accept it. As a first step, he obtained of the Scottish Estates to pass an Act in 1606 for the restoration of Bishops to their accustomed honours, prerogatives, privileges, livings, and lands.

There was considerable opposition among the ministers to what they felt to be the first step to the overthrow of Calvinism; and when they found that the King claimed power to deal with the General Assembly

of the Kirk, instead of submitting to be its minion, a stand was made by a party of which Andrew and James Melville were the heads. They convoked a General Assembly at Aberdeen. The King forbade it. Most of the ministers were prudent and stayed at home, so that only nine met the first day, and nineteen at the second session. Seditious speeches were made, and Andrew Melville called the King "God's silly vassal." Fourteen of the members were at once seized and sent to prison for their contempt of the royal authority; and the King wrote a letter in strong rebuke. John Welch, who had married Knox's daughter, and four others were tried before the Court of Session, and though they denied its power in such matters, they were banished from his majesty's dominions.

The Synod of Fife, in much distress, declared the plague of pestilence to be a judgment on the land for this restraint of General Assemblies, but otherwise the Kirk seems to have been little concerned. The two Melvilles and six more of the brethren were sent for to England, where the King hoped to convince them. He was very kind and affable, joking with them in his favourite fashion, causing them to hear arguments and sermons, and hoping above all to make them understand what the English Church really was, and what he hoped to introduce in Scotland, by making them attend upon the Cathedral services in the fullest ritual then practised. He has been blamed for folly in this; but he argued from the effect of such services on himself, who, though bred in the same bare Presbyterianism as themselves, had been perfectly satisfied by this ritual.

The effect, however, was very different on their prejudiced minds. Andrew Melville even wrote an irreverent but clever epigram in Latin on the most sacred service, and being handed about, it reached the King, who, shocked and angered, cited him before the Privy Council.

There, regarding himself as a confessor, Melville declared that he had been indignant to see such vanities and superstitions in a Reformed Christian Church, under a King brought up in the light of the Gospel before idolaters, to confirm them in the same, and grieve the hearts of true worshippers. On being reproved by Archbishop Bancroft, Melville turned on him, and abused him vehemently, laying hold of the white sleeves of his rochet, shaking them and calling them Romish rags, and a part of the beast's mark.

This outrage resulted in his being committed first to the custody of the Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards to the Tower. He was afterwards banished, and became a professor at the Calvinist university of Sedan, which belonged to the Huguenot Duke of Bouillon. His nephew was confined to within ten miles of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The King obtained from the Estates the passing of an Act restoring the Bishops to their honours and dignities; he decided on their robes and the order of precedence in which they were to ride to Parliament according to ancient rule—the Archbishops next after the marquesses, and the Bishops between the earls and the barons. At a General

CAMEO VI.

Death of Archbishop Bancroft. 1610.

Assembly held at Glasgow, another step was taken, as the Scots declared through bribery, by the Earl of Dunbar. Hence it was decided that every presbytery, in effect a diocese, should have a moderator, and that this moderator should be the Bishop. It still remained to renew the Apostolical Succession, which had been lost in Scotland, and for this purpose three of the titular prelates were invited to England, to receive the imposition of hands that they might consecrate the rest. The three selected were Spottiswood of Glasgow, Lamb of Brechin, and Hamilton of St. Andrew's. The first of these suggested that the Scots might think that they thus submitted themselves to the Church of England, but James considered that this might be obviated by letting neither Archbishop share in the consecration, which was to be performed by suffragans.

Another very serious difficulty, started by the most learned of all the English divines, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, was that no Scottish minister of this generation had received any ordination save that of the presbytery, so that he could not reckon them as priests. However, Archbishop Bancroft pointed out instances of laymen, such as the great S. Ambrose himself, who had been at once consecrated Bishop without passing through the previous orders of the ministry, and he held that as such, the Scottishmen might be consecrated without entering into the discussion of their previous Orders, on which the Kirk was so sore, that the whole negotiation might have been overthrown, if they had been called in question.

Bishop Andrewes was satisfied, and assisted the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Worcester, in the consecration on the 21st of October, 1610, in the chapel of London House.

The Archbishop was purposely absent, and almost immediately after he fell ill, and died on the 2nd of November. He had not been a favourite, and was thought to be avaricious, so that the rhyme went about—

> "Here lies his grace, in cold clay clad,
> Who died for want of what he had."

This seems to have been merely the murmur at his manner of living, which was plainer and less expensive than that of Whitgift, for he left no hoard of wealth behind him. He had gathered together an excellent library, which he bequeathed to Lambeth Palace, on condition that each succeeding Archbishop should undertake to hand it on without diminution to his successor. He was high-handed and censured sharply, and he may perhaps have contributed thus to the unfortunate impatience of Church discipline which was prevailing.

Dr. Sutcliffe, the Dean of Exeter, thought to confer a benefit on the Church by building a college at Chelsea for theologians, with a provost, two Church historians, and seventeen fellows, who were to be prepared for all controversial questions, so that it might have been to the English Church what the Sorbonne was to the French; but the foundation

CAMEO VI.

Archbishop Abbot. 1611.

never prospered as it might have done, had it been attached to one of the universities, and little use was ever made of it, even at the first.

The Bishops were in great hopes that their new primate would be the most learned, pious, and able of them all, namely Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, and agreed to recommend him to the King. There was however a counter influence. The Earl of Dunbar, who had worked hard to bring Episcopacy into Scotland, was very anxious for the promotion of his former chaplain, Doctor George Abbot, recently made Bishop of London, who was already well known to the King, having paid his respects to him, as Master of University College and Vice-chancellor of Oxford, when the Court was at Woodstock. And when Sprot had confessed the truth of the Gowrie conspiracy, he had written a book about it, in which he called James immaculate and unspotted, and with a character in which malice itself could find no blemish—as zealous as David, learned and wise as Solomon, religious as Josias, careful of spreading the faith as Constantine, just as Moses, undefiled as Jehoshaphat or Hezekiah, full of clemency as Theodosius. Abbot had not been alone in these compliments, which were the fashion of the age, and which the learning and religious bent of the King seemed to the clergy to deserve.

Abbot's promotion had been very rapid. He had rushed up the whole stair of dignities, and seemed to receive each benefice in turn as it became vacant. His father was a cloth-worker at Guildford who gave a good education to his sons. Shortly before George was born, his mother had dreamt that if she could eat a pike, her child would be a great man. The next day, when she was getting water in her pitcher, a young pike was so obliging as to swim into it, and of course was eaten by her. When her son George showed great abilities at school, the story was talked of, and friends assisted in giving him an education that might help him on his way to greatness. He was a man of blameless life, a Puritan in manners and opinions, except that he accepted Episcopacy, and he had that sort of practical business ability which leads to promotion. Besides, Lord Dunbar had James's ear, and thus the saying was in England that a north wind blew Doctor Abbot over the Thames to Lambeth.

He was appointed to the Archbishopric four months after Bancroft's death in March, 1611.

It was in the midst of a persecution for heresy, such as there had not been since the Anabaptists were burnt under Queen Elizabeth, forty years previously. The victim was an Essex man named Bartholomew Legatt, who, trusting to the Bible alone, without guidance from elsewhere, had gathered therefrom opinions resembling Arianism, which he tried to propagate. He was brought before the Privy Council, and James argued the matter in person, producing so little impression that finally the royal temper gave way, and with a contemptuous or indignant kick, he turned the man over to the Consistory Court. Legatt treated the judges there with insulting words and manner, and they declared him

CAMEO VI.

The last burning for heresy. 1611.

to deserve death, but being an ecclesiastical court, they had no power to pass sentence, and Abbot actually wrote to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to secure that the penalty of death should be pronounced without Coke being able to interfere, lest his opinion should lead to a contrary result.

The writ *de heretico comburendo* was again prepared, and passed the Seal. Legatt was burnt at Smithfield on the 18th of March, and another poor half-crazed wretch, named Edward Wightman, was convicted of ten heresies at Lichfield, and there burnt a little later; but the horror excited by the sufferings of these men was such that the King declared that though the statute remained, the condemnation to death should never again be carried out, but the heretic should remain in solitary confinement.

Puritanism seemed everywhere dominant in the Church; though there were noted exceptions, such as Bishop Andrewes and William Laud, then President of St. John's College, Oxford, and one of the King's chaplains. Young Prince Henry was believed to be a strong Puritan, and the popular saying was—

> "Henry VIII. pulled down abbots and cells.
> Henry IX. shall pull down bishops and bells."

This saying seems to have been founded on the boy's piety and patience in listening to the long sermons of the day, and his careful abstinence from some of the faults that looked so ugly in his father, although he was perfectly dutiful and submissive. He had a horror of profane language, was never heard to use the Holy Name indevoutly, and though very fond of sport, was remarkably careful never to do injury to the crops. He would not go out hunting or hawking before harvest, and if he did come to a field where the wheat was standing, he would ride round, to set the example of sparing it. Once when he was hunting, the deer, in crossing a road, was suddenly pulled down and killed by a dog belonging to a butcher who was passing, and the attendants were ready to fall on man and dog for spoiling the sport, when the Prince called them off, saying, "How could the butcher help it?" Some one said that if such a thing had happened to the King, he would have sworn terribly, and Henry answered, "All the pleasure in the world is not worth a single oath." He was perhaps too apt to contrast himself with his father, and James was somewhat jealous of his heir's ready grace and perfect correctness of demeanour, as well as of the high spirit that boyishly longed for war and distinction, enjoyed the practice of arms, took long walks in order to be prepared for marches at the head of an army, and delighted in the building and furnishing of ships of war by Phineas Pett, the noted naval architect of the day. Such aspirations in a lad in his teens do not necessarily show that he will involve the kingdom in war, but James distrusted his eldest son, and preferred Baby Charles, and there was a mutual dislike between Henry and the little beagle, Lord Salisbury. Henry regretted the old times of Elizabethan warfare with

CAMEO VI.

Henry, Prince of Wales. 1610.

Spain, admired Raleigh, and said he wondered how his father could keep such a bird in a cage.

The Prince was most fondly attached to his sister Elizabeth, and they could not be a few days apart without exchanging affectionate little playful notes, though it seems that he could sometimes fraternally tease her. Henry was not created Prince of Wales till he was sixteen, in 1610, and then there was a great pageant and solemn procession worthy of a coronation. There was a masque too in which Henry was represented as reviving the dying genius of chivalry, the verses being by Ben Jonson.

The Queen had another masque at Whitehall the next day, the scenery arranged by Inigo Jones, and the speeches versified by Nathanael Daniels, in which her ladies represented the nymphs of the rivers of the kingdom, and she was Tethys, the earth or mother of waters. This must have been suggested by the wedding of Tame and Isis in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, and it was gracefully carried out. Elizabeth was the lady of the royal Thames, Arabella Stewart, of the Trent, Lady Arundel, of the Arun, Lady Derby, of the Derwent, Lady Anne Clifford, of the Aire, which washed her castle of Skipton, and the Lea was personated by young Frances Howard, then only fourteen, but already wedded to the boy Earl of Essex, who had immediately after been sent away on his travels. Lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter to the Earl of Kent, was the Medway, and Lady Haddington, who came from Sussex, the Rother.

These eight ladies had as many gentlemen arrayed as Tritons for partners. The Queen, as befitted a "sea king's daughter from over the sea," had a helmet representing a shell, ornamented with coral, and a veil of silver tissue gossamer, a bodice and train of sky blue, with patterns of white lace, and branches of gold, like sea-weeds, over her hoop.

The prettiest part of the whole was, however, the appearance of little Prince Charles as a Zephyr, in green satin and gold flowers, a garland of flowers on his head, a diamond bracelet on his right arm, and silver wings on his shoulders. Thus attired, he danced a ballet with four little girls of his own age, ten years, representing the four rivers which meet in Milford Haven—Uske, Olwy, Dulesse, and Wye. They wore pale blue satin dresses, with silver embroidery, their hair hung loose crowned with silver flowers, and they danced a ballet together, so contrived that they always surrounded the little dark-eyed, auburn-haired Zephyr, while a curtain painted with Milford Haven itself hung behind them. The dance finished, the children drew back, the scene was withdrawn, and Queen Tethys herself appeared on silver rocks, with little niches for her nymphs, except the Princess of the Thames, who sat at her feet, while dolphins formed in silver were seen amongst shells and waterfalls.

A poem, explaining all, was recited all the time by the chief Triton, who at the fit moment, put into the hands of the Zephyr a gold trident, which he presented to his royal father on the part of the Queen, and then gave his brother a sword and a scarf of her own embroidering.

CAMEO VI.

Fall of Arabella Stewart. 1611.

He then led the Queen from her throne, and she, with her eight nymphs and their Tritons, performed their dance of intricate changes. This was succeeded by another elaborate performance by the little Prince and his four Welsh nymphs; another dance of the elders succeeded, and lasted till the dawn of the early May morning.

Prince Charles, though still small, was beautiful in feature, and had overcome the weakness of limb, about which his brother had sometimes teased him, declaring that he should be Archbishop of Canterbury. It seems strange that the Prince of Wales at sixteen should have been intrusted with the selection of his brother's household, which was now formed, but he chose wisely and well.

This was poor Lady Arabella's last appearance in public. The King watched her jealously, as heiress of England next after his own children, and had made up his mind to keep her unmarried; but for many years past she had been in love with William Seymour, the eldest grandson of the Marquess of Hertford, and of his first wife, poor Lady Katharine Gray. His father was that Lord Beauchamp who had been mentioned to Elizabeth on her death-bed. Arabella was in fact, at the time of the masque, already married to him. A rumour of the fact becoming known, they were summoned before the Privy Council, severely reprimanded, and placed under arrest, but not closely watched, he living as usual at his father's house, and she being under charge of a gentleman named Conyers, at Highgate. They still corresponded, and the King discovering this, gave orders for the lady's removal to Durham.

This drove them to despair, and they resolved to flee to the Continent, having made arrangements with a French ship lying in the Thames, to carry them off on the 3rd of June, 1611. Arabella set forth, with a great pair of French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, a man's doublet, a peruke with long locks, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, attended by a gentleman. She walked a mile and a half to an inn, where horses were waiting for her, and though sick and faint, mounted and rode to Blackwall, where her attendants, male and female, awaited her, and by daylight the next morning they came to Leigh, and got on board the ship, where Arabella intended to wait for her husband, but a panic seized her attendants, they insisted on weighing anchor, and carried her off out of the river.

Seymour meanwhile, disguised in a black wig and beard, had reached Leigh too late, found the French ship gone, and hired a Newcastle collier for 40*l.* to take him to Calais, whence he safely escaped to Flanders, but poor Arabella's vessel, lingering about in the Downs, was pursued by a pinnace despatched by the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, and after thirteen shots had been discharged at her, surrendered, the poor lady showing herself far more anxious about her husband's escape than her own.

She was thrown into the Tower, and treated as if she had committed a heinous offence. Her aunt, Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, was also

CAMEO VI.

Death of Arabella. 1615.

imprisoned, as well as the poor old infirm Earl of Hertford. They were examined, when Arabella showed good sense and dignity, but Lady Shrewsbury, the same who as Gilbert Talbot's wife had made so much mischief at Sheffield Castle, would only answer by "tricks and giggs"—giggles we may suppose. Some thought the offence second only to the Gunpowder Treason, but others simply viewed it as the effort of two lovers whose patience had become despair, for the bride was thirty-five years old, and their attachment had begun before her cousin's accession, now eleven years ago. She was, however, kept closely in the Tower; till after a year or two, she spoke as if she had important revelations to make, and was again brought before the Council, but it then appeared that her brain had given way, and she knew not what she said. She was sent back to her prison, and lingered in hopeless idiocy till the September of 1615, when she died, and was buried near her hapless aunt, Mary of Scotland. She had been a woman of clear, bright intellect, who wrote charming letters, and her piteous story concludes the tragedies connected with the royal blood of Margaret and Mary Tudor.

CAMEO VII.

DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY.

(1612—1614.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1598. Philip III.	1612. Matthias.	1605. Paul V.

CAMEO VII.

Henry and Elizabeth.

THE great interest and delight of Henry and his sister was the building of a great ship of war, of 114 feet long, which they often visited. The whole family went to Woolwich to be on board at the launch, but in spite of a great flourish of drums and trumpets, the untoward vessel stuck fast in the stays. The royal party were obliged to go back to Greenwich, but Henry, returning early in the morning, had the pleasure of seeing the vessel glide safely into the Thames.

The King made a present of the Manor of Woodstock to his eldest son, and there were some delightful days of sylvan festivities in a large summerhouse built of green branches in the chase. Indeed these were very happy days for all the young people, and there are pleasant memorials of them extant in little notes in Latin, French, and Italian, written by them to their parents and to each other. There is a book in the British Museum in which each of the three wrote a motto —Henry's is in Latin, "Glory is the touch of an upright mind"; Elizabeth's is in Italian, "Uprightness and cheerfulness content me"; Charles's in English, "If you would conquer all things, submit yourself to reason."

The brother and sister enjoyed one another's society with the knowledge that they must soon part. James was resolved that his daughter should have a husband of princely rank, and refused her to two of his nobles who ventured to aspire to her hand.

The King of Sweden proposed his son, the young Gustavus Adolphus, but unfortunately the enmity between Sweden and Denmark prevented Elizabeth from having for her husband the noblest and greatest man in Europe. Maurice of Nassau proposed for her, but his

CAMEO VII.

Projected Spanish marriage. 1612.

age was not suitable, nor his rank and position sufficiently assured, since he was not even Prince of Orange, and he was not of a character to have made her happy, being silent and morose. The Queen was foolish enough to set her heart on seeing her daughter Queen of Spain, though Philip III., besides the objection on the score of religion, was old enough to be Elizabeth's father, and had a daughter who was thought of for the Prince of Wales. An ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuniga, was actually sent to England ostensibly to inform the King of an intended alliance between the royal families of Spain and France, but with secret orders to report on the Princess, and whether there were any chance of her changing her religion. James received him in July, 1612, and was much disappointed and very angry that he said nothing about this part of his mission, only asked permission to remain in England till the weather should be cooler for travelling. It was hinted that he hoped to carry back tidings of the Princess's conversion, whereupon James swore that she should never go a Papist out of England.

Henry, however, took a more decided part, and said publicly that he esteemed a man a traitor who should advise the marrying his sister to a Roman Catholic ("he is a great heretic," wrote the ambassador); and he likewise declared that he would himself never marry any save a Protestant. James was disappointed, but Lord Salisbury persuaded him that the whole scheme was impracticable, and that the greatness of his throne was better secured by heading the Protestant powers rather than by becoming an ally of Spain.

This was the last service rendered to the country by Salisbury's clear, shrewd sense. He was much annoyed at the deficiency in the treasury, caused by the King's lavish gifts to favourites, and the refusal of the Parliament to grant further supplies unless the King would make concessions which were not considered as consistent with the dignity of the Crown. He had always been feeble and deformed, though he took great care of his health, and the change from the wealth that had been in his hands under Elizabeth so affected his spirits that he sank into a decline, went in vain to try the waters of Bath, and died on his way back to London on the 24th of May, 1612.

James had already attached himself to a favourite, Robert Carr, a handsome young Scottish page, who had been thrown from his horse when attending him on a hunting party, and had broken his leg. James took so much interest in him in his convalescence as even to teach him the Latin grammar. He was made Viscount Rochester, and became for the time the most influential person at court.

A Protestant match was proposed in the person of Frederick the Pfalzgraf, or Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was a fine handsome youth, highly educated, and well trained in all exercises, eighteen years of age, and looked upon as the natural leader of the Protestant interest in Germany. His mother, Juliana of Nassau, was a daughter of William the Silent, and she was extremely anxious for the connection.

CAMEO VII.
The Elector Palatine.
1612.

The Duke of Bouillon, whose wife was Juliana's sister, had arranged the terms, and Count Meinhard of Schomberg was sent to ask permission for the young Elector to come and press his suit in person. James granted it graciously, but Queen Anne was greatly chagrined at the exchange of the King of Spain, Naples, and the Indies for a petty German prince, and, falling into one of her fits of ill-humour, refused to see Count Schomberg, and teased her daughter by calling her "Goody Palsgrave." Elizabeth, who had a youthful dread of Philip's age, as well as of the Oriental seclusion and etiquette of the Spanish Court, added to strong Protestant feelings, declared that she had much rather marry the Elector than be the greatest Popish Queen in Europe, and King James defended the suitor's pedigree, which was in fact equal to any in Europe, and reckoned in it one Emperor who had been married to an English princess, Blanche, the daughter of Henry IV.

Frederick prepared himself by borrowing the dancing master of Tübingen for a month in order that he might take lessons in an art which was practised most elaborately at the English Court. He arrived in the September of 1612, attended by his uncle, Prince Henry of Nassau, a good many noblemen, and a suite numbering a hundred and fifty. On the 16th he arrived at Gravesend, and wished there to wait for his baggage; but the Duke of Lennox was sent to overcome his scruples, and bring him to Whitehall, where Prince Charles met him at the water-gate, and all the rest of the family were drawn up in state to receive him in the banqueting hall.

He was a dark-eyed, graceful youth, and James received him cordially. Anne relaxed her countenance of fixed ill-humour, and let him kiss her hand; Elizabeth, gentle and blushing, smiled as he whispered in her ear; and Henry gladly accepted him as a brother—all speaking French, their common language.

Thenceforth Frederick attended the Court in all their entertainments. There came however a fatal blow. Prince Henry had outgrown his strength, being, at seventeen, over six feet high, and his exertions in the tilt-yard seem to have in some degree injured him. Superstition declared that he had begun to droop from the time that the remains of his grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been transported from Peterborough to Westminster Abbey. He had already a cough, before the Elector Palatine arrived, and soon after an intermittent fever attacked him. He bore up against it with all his gallant spirit, and was engaged, with all the rest of the royal family, to dine at the Guildhall with the Lord Mayor on the 24th of October, but on the previous Sunday he fainted in church during the sermon, and speedily became very ill. On the 29th a lunar rainbow, lasting seven hours, stood over the part of the palace of St James's where he lay, and was thought to be an evil omen for his recovery. The fever, however, abated, and his sister, who visited him daily, left him on the 1st of November with good hopes; but after this a violent increase of fever set in; it was pronounced to be putrid and very infectious, and though Elizabeth made many attempts to gain admittance to St.

James's, the guards always turned her back, and she had seen her brother for the last time.

The King and Queen were both afraid of infection, and kept themselves apart. The Queen was frantic with anxiety, and sent to the Tower to beg Sir Walter Raleigh for some specific he had once mentioned to her against ague. Could it have been any of the forms of quinine from America? It was sent, and for a few hours the Prince appeared better, but on the 5th of November he was evidently sinking, and in the thanksgiving service of that day, the heir of England was prayed for as one in extremity. The streets from Somerset House to St James's were blocked with crowds who wept and groaned as tidings of his state were brought out to them, while far off in the parks and the open country bonfires were lighted and the rabble shouted round Guy Fawkes's effigy, and the Roman Catholics, keeping close to their homes, deemed that retribution had fallen on the royal family for the barbarities practised on those connected with the plot.

At midnight, the last breath of the pure-minded and noble-hearted young Henry was drawn, perhaps the happiest of all the Stuarts.

The Queen in her first despair exclaimed that he must have been poisoned, and this was remembered against the King's present favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Rochester, nay even against the King himself, as if he had been jealous of his son, and hushed up an investigation. But there is no reasonable doubt that the Prince had been for some time threatened with decline, and that his constitution had no power to resist a malignant fever which proved fatal to many besides himself, in especial to one young man who, in his delirium, fancied himself the ghost of Henry! The remedies applied were likewise such as to do more harm than good. The last was a cock split down the back, and applied while yet warm to the soles of his feet.

James's impatience of the sight of mourning, and his endeavours to escape from the grief that crushed him, shocked his subjects. He did not attend the funeral, which was delayed till the 7th of December, but Charles and the Elector Palatine walked side by side as chief mourners to the grave in Westminster Abbey, where Henry was laid near his grandmother, Queen Mary, and his two infant sisters.

On the 18th, Frederick was installed a Knight of the Garter with Henry's own collar and star, and on the 27th he was married to the Princess Elizabeth in full state and splendour.

The Tempest was Shakespeare's contribution to the pastimes in honour of their bridal—the final pageant to which Ariel and Prospero treat Ferdinand and Miranda being intended to apply to Frederick and Elizabeth.

James, though giving his daughter to a decided Calvinist, made her take her own chaplains, and forbade her to receive the Holy Communion from any unauthorised hands; so, though she heard plenty of sermons from Scultetus, Frederick's chaplain, she attended the English service in her own chapel.

CAMEO VII.

Carr and Frances Howard.

It seems as if with Prince Henry and his sister some wholesome restraint had departed, more especially as his mother's health and spirits sank so low that she was forced to be absent at Bath, taking the waters for her recovery—and with her went the elegance and decorum, which, in spite of all her weaknesses, she had been able to maintain.

Robert Carr, whom James had made Viscount Rochester, exerted a baneful influence over the King, who lavished gifts on him, and was led by him to promote a most disgraceful affair. The son of the unfortunate Earl of Essex had been restored to his honours, and by family compact married to Lady Frances Howard, the daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, when he was fourteen and she thirteen. The young bridegroom was sent to school and then to travel abroad; the bride returned to her home. The religious tone of the family had sadly declined since the days of Sidney and "sweet Robin," and there had been a great scandal respecting Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich, the object of Philip Sidney's romantic admiration, who was divorced by her husband, and immediately after married Lord Mountjoy, who had been made Earl of Devonshire. James himself told the Earl that she was a wife, fair of face, but black of heart. The chaplain who performed the ceremony was William Laud, the son of a clothier at Reading. He had become a scholar of much ability and learning at Oxford, and was looked on as one of the most rising men of the Church party. Chaplains were at that time looked on almost as domestic servants, especially if their birth was not gentle, and Laud appears to have obeyed his lord as a matter of course, but he bitterly repented of his weak compliance, and ever after observed the anniversary as a fast day. It was S. Stephen's feast, 1605, and in his diary a prayer of the deepest humiliation is extant which he always used on that day.

Before the young Essex had returned from his travels, his Countess, who was very beautiful, had been admired and sought by Rochester, the King's lawless favourite, and her passionate desire was to be free from her husband. He was a grave and melancholy youth, in bad health, and he had a severe illness immediately after his return, giving her hopes that he would not live to claim her. He did, however, recover, and the ill-assorted pair set up house together, but Frances did nothing but weep and storm against her Puritanical young lord, and to the amazement of the Court, demanded a divorce from him.

The King was for the time wholly under the influence of Rochester, and consented that the cause should come on. The lady's family, wishing to gain such powerful support as Rochester's, also were ready to promote the proceedings; and its chief opponents were Sir Thomas Overbury, hitherto a ready and unscrupulous friend of Rochester's, who seems to have feared loss of influence; and, from high and pure motives, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A Court for deciding on the matter was formed of five laymen and four Bishops, of whom the Primate was one. All the four petitioned the King to suffer no such perversion of justice as the sentence of divorce, but James was exceedingly angry. He sent for the Archbishop and rated him so

CAMEO VII.

Death of Overbury. 1613.

hotly that Abbot fell on his knees, weeping like a child, and imploring, "I beseech your Majesty, if ever I have done you any service, rid me of this business." However, James would not release him, and Rochester left no means untried to secure the decision. He gave the King 25,000*l.*, and as Overbury was thought likely to produce evidence that would not bear the light, he obtained that the embassy to Russia should be bestowed on him. Sir Thomas refused it, saying that the King had no right to send him into exile. A few days afterwards he was committed to the Tower for contempt of the royal authority.

Nevertheless, Abbot and King (Bishop of London) staunchly voted that the marriage could not be dissolved; whereupon the King wrote to Abbot insisting on his submission "as my creature," and also "because I have some skill in divinity"; but the Archbishop could not force his conscience, as he said, and still held out. Then James broke up that commission and formed another of more compliant Bishops, personal enemies of the Primate. All that can be said in excuse for the King is that in Scotland, the marriage laws were less strict than in England, and that the Earl of Essex was not anxious to remain bound to a wife who had done nothing but make him miserable, so that the whole turned on the principle of obedience to the Divine Law: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

Overbury died in prison on the 15th of September, 1613. The next day the sentence of divorce was given, and the King soon after made Carr, Earl of Somerset, that the lady might not lose precedence by marrying a man of lower rank than Essex. The wedding took place on S. Stephen's day—an ill-omened one in that reign—in the chapel at Whitehall, before the royal family, and all manner of diversions and pageants followed.

All the older nobles were extremely jealous of Somerset, and believed all sorts of evil of him. Just at this time a very handsome, graceful, and polished young man arrived at court, George Villiers, son of Sir Edward Villiers of Brooksby, and it occurred to the Earls of Bedford and Pembroke that he might be put forward as a favourite who might overthrow the influence of Somerset. Archbishop Abbot undertook to ask the Queen to bring him to be noticed by the King. She was unwilling, but at last she said, "My lord, you know not what you ask. If Villiers gain the King's ear, we shall all suffer, I among the rest. The King will teach him to treat us all with pride and scorn."

However, on S. George's Day, 1615, Villiers became a gentleman of the privy chamber, and on the ensuing day was knighted. The King at once took a fancy to him and called him Steenie, from his resemblance to a picture of S. Stephen, and the Queen and Prince both seem to have been won by his grace and address. Somerset's influence was declining as that of Villiers advanced, and there was a horrible report spreading that Sir Thomas Overbury had come by his death unfairly.

Inquiries were made, the replies to which convinced all parties, and the Archbishop recommended Secretary Winwood to inform the King

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Arrest of Somerset. 1615.

that there was fatal evidence against both the Earl and Countess of Somerset. This was done in June, and James sent for Sir James Elwes, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and privately examined him, becoming convinced that the unfortunate knight had really been poisoned. Probably he was afraid of the same fate himself, for he betrayed no suspicion, and took Somerset with him to Royston as usual, treating him with his usual caressing manner up to the last, when a warrant arrived from Sir Edward Coke, the Chief Justice. Somerset complained of being arrested in the King's presence. "Nay, mon," said James, "if Coke sends for me, I must e'en go." But no sooner was Somerset gone than the King added, "The de'il go wi' thee, for I'll never see thy face more." And then, with the bitterness of a man ashamed of having been deceived, he uttered a curse on himself and everybody else if he ever pardoned any of the set.

The Countess was arrested at the same time, and the lawyers made three hundred private examinations before showing up their report to the King. Somerset himself would say nothing; but the lady was more easily worked on, and a terrible history of depravity was laid bare. The unhappy girl, in her distaste to her husband, had had recourse to sorcerers to obtain her release from him and to secure the affections of Carr. Her adviser had been a certain Mrs. Turner, who had been her attendant in her childhood, and afterwards, being very beautiful, had married a physician, and on his death returned to the Countess with her head full of the effects of charms and philtres, and the powers of a noted sorcerer or wizard, Dr. Forman. The woman actually took the lady to Forman's house, and there was a correspondence maintained by his means with Lord Rochester both before and after Frances had joined her husband, the Earl of Essex.

This seems to have been known to Sir Thomas Overbury, and to have actuated him in wishing to prevent the marriage of his patron with so unscrupulous a person, while, on the other hand, the Countess was dreadfully afraid of her transactions coming to light. There was a letter produced from Overbury to Somerset in which he spoke of secrets between them, from which Sir Edward Coke inferred that the two friends meant the poisoning of Prince Henry; and the Queen, who had from the first thought that her son did not die a natural death, joined in the cry. James himself, however, did not believe this, and would not have the subject pursued, though he did think the secret might have been some plan for giving Prince Charles up to the Spaniards. This forbearance of his has led to the cruel imputation that he himself had been concerned in poisoning his own son, out of mere jealousy—an absolutely unfounded idea respecting a man whose chief faults were vanity, weakness, and a certain innate coarseness and vulgarity of texture, apparently inherited from the Lennox family.

The Countess had had influence enough to obtain Overbury's committal to the Tower; and further machinations had procured that one Weston, formerly a servant of Mrs. Turner's, should be introduced to

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Overbury's murder. 1615.

Sir James Elwes, the Lieutenant of the Tower, made a warder, and set to wait on the unfortunate knight. Then poison of three kinds was procured from an apothecary named Franklin, and was declared to have been enough to kill twenty men. Weston gave it in small doses, mixed with all Overbury's food, and at last completed the work with a pie. Elwes had connived at all, and Somerset obtained that the body should be instantly buried.

Such was the horrible story that was elicited, partly in examination, partly on the trial of the commoners, Mrs. Turner, Elwes, Franklin, and Weston,—Dr. Forman being dead. Weston refused to plead, but on being threatened with the *peine forte et dure* he pleaded not guilty, as indeed all the others did; but Lady Somerset had confessed, and Franklin, the apothecary, turned King's evidence in hopes of saving his own life. They were all convicted, with strong evidence against them, and all confessed their guilt before they were executed at Tyburn. Three gentlemen, who clung to the idea that all arose from a plot against Somerset, rode up to the scaffold and called out to Weston to ask once more whether all were fact.

"Fact or no fact, I die worthily," answered Weston, and so was hanged.

Mrs. Turner showed great penitence. She went to the scaffold in a ruff set up with yellow starch, a fashion which she had introduced, and which was abandoned in horror at her crime.

The chief criminals, Lord and Lady Somerset, were kept in separate apartments in the Tower, waiting until Lord Digby, the Spanish Ambassador, should have come home with the proofs he was desired to collect that the secret spoken of in Overbury's letters was some betrayal to the Court of Spain; but he failed to discover any traces of such a plot, and there probably was none, for the secret was much more likely to have been connected with the traffic with the sorcerers. Lady Suffolk, mother of the Countess, brought the little daughter, who had been born shortly before the arrest, to see her, but she took little notice of the child, and was sinking into a state of despondency and ill-health. On hearing that his favourite was free from the guilt of high treason, James began to relent, and though the trial was necessarily to take place, he forbade the Attorney-General, Bacon, to exaggerate the offence, as he intended to grant a pardon. "Advice was not to push him too hard in his speech, so as to give occasion for despair or flushes." Each prisoner was likewise exhorted to confess the crime, and the Countess, by the persuasion of the clergyman Whiting, who had attended them all, owned to all the course of wickedness which had culminated in Overbury's death.

Somerset, however, would own nothing, and when the inducement of saving his life and property was held out to him said, "Life and fortune are nothing when honour is gone."

As they were not married at the time of the murder, they were tried separately before the peers. The Countess looked very ill, and trembled exceedingly while the indictment was read, and she held her fan before

CAMEO VII.
Trial of the Somersets.
1615.

her face when Weston's name was mentioned. She wept bitterly, and could hardly speak when she pleaded guilty, and she was then allowed to retire, while Bacon made a long speech on the evidence he had to adduce against her. She was recalled to hear her sentence of death pronounced by Lord Ellesmere.

The same night her husband was told by Sir George More, the new Lieutenant of the Tower, that he must stand his trial the next day. The Earl absolutely refused to go to Westminster Hall, saying that if he was taken thither, it must be by force in his bed, that the King had promised him that he should not be tried, and durst not do it.

More, much perturbed, hurried to Greenwich, and hastened up the back stairs to the King, who was in bed, and was likewise overcome even to tears, declaring that if More would stand his friend he would not be a thankless master. More returned, and spent the rest of the night in assurances of the King's favourable disposition to him, and thus brought him to a more reasonable frame; but even then, More prepared two sentinels, each with a cloak which was to be thrown over his head if he attempted to say anything perilous to the King.

Somerset pleaded not guilty, and defended himself with so much ability that his trial lasted eleven hours, during which time James was in a restless state of anxiety, sending continually to hear whether the trial was over; and was only satisfied when he heard that the Earl had been convicted and sentence pronounced.

Both Earl and Countess were pardoned, but were kept in the Tower for four years longer, and then only allowed a small income out of their estate. Their love for one another was gone, and the lady was a broken penitent woman, a prey to disease. Their child, Lady Anne Carr, was brought up carefully in ignorance of all that had passed in her infancy. She was good and innocent, and was married to the son of the Earl of Bedford. She was a happy wife and mother, when she chanced to pick up a chap book with the whole dreadful tale of Overbury's murder, and the next person who entered the room found her lying in a fainting fit on the floor.

James's alarm led to further whispers that the secret was Prince Henry's murder and that he knew of it, but nothing confirms the notion. So undignified a monarch, talking so freely and so familiarly, was sure to have uttered much which might have been turned against him in Westminster Hall, and it was no wonder he was disquieted about the horrible exposure.

The field was left free for Villiers, who was created Earl of Buckingham, and on the retirement of the Chancellor, Ellesmere, Bacon became Lord Keeper. To the amusement of the Court, this grave philosopher assumed the most magnificent airs of splendour, wore a robe of purple satin, and went about with a train that almost rivalled Buckingham's. There never lived a man whose writings and public life so little accorded as those of Francis Bacon.

CAMEO VIII.

THE ADDLED PARLIAMENT AND THE LAST STATES GENERAL.

1613—1617.

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1598. Philip III.	1612. Matthias.	1605. Leo XI.

CAMEO VIII. — *Parliaments in England and France.*

THERE was a certain similarity in the original constitutions of all the chief European countries. All contained the same classes—the King and the nobility, who were of the conquering Teutonic line; the burghers, who were the more intelligent remnant of the subjugated races dwelling in cities; the peasantry or serfs attached to the soil; and the clergy, who might be taken from all these classes, and whose influence pervaded the whole.

The nobility had begun by being almost the equals and always the rivals of the King, and there had been a popular assembly, known in England as Witenagemot, in France as States General, in Germany as Reichstag or Diet, in Spain as Cortes, in Scandinavia as Thing, where all freemen had a right to confer with the King and his office bearers, and which was generally held in the open air.

A *Parlement* or consultation in France meant the meeting of the chief of a province with his principal vassals, clergy, and burghers, to do justice in great causes, and to obtain money for the needful expenses.

The word was applied in England to what had once been the Witenagemot, when Simon de Montfort obtained its renewal; and it included not merely the nobles, but the knights of the shire representing each county, and the burgesses representing each borough and city. In the reign of Edward I. was established the great rule that taxes must only be imposed with the consent of all the orders of the State. Moreover, custom and unwritten law reduced younger sons of nobles to the level of the commonalty, and they, as well as the actual peer, the head of the family, were subject to taxation. The clergy in convocation taxed themselves.

In France, Parliaments remained the provincial courts they had previously been. That of Paris was, of course, the King's Court of Justice,

CAMEO VIII.

The States General.

and the members were the immediate vassals of the Crown, but as they were unwilling and incompetent to deal with the administration of justice, St. Louis added lawyers to it, as magistrates who sat there in right of the royal appointment. Each great old province had its Parliament, of nobles, clergy, and magistrates, and edicts became law on being registered in each Parliament, while, of course, that of Paris was the most important, though neither it nor any of the others could originate a measure, and it was doubtful whether it could refuse one decreed by the King. All his taxes and imposts were registered by the Parliaments, and were paid by the burghers and peasants. The clergy and nobles were exempt, as the clergy were supposed to pray for the nation, the nobles to fight for it; and the nobles included not merely the head of the family, but all members thereof to the remotest generation.

The States General included the representation of all the cities, and these formed what was called the Third Estate. Power of remonstrance was supposed to exist in this body, but it was so seldom assembled that no one exactly knew its powers. It was usually convoked as a concession in the midst of the strife of factions, and generally broke up without having accomplished anything.

The greater feudal nobility had in all these countries been formidable rivals to the Crown. In Germany, they had quite overshadowed it, and become independent cities, interspersed with equally free cities. In England, the Crown had struggled with them, till in the Wars of the Roses they had destroyed one another's power, and the relentless hand of the Tudors cut off all who showed signs of a dangerous tendency to ambition. The Wars of Religion had produced the same effect in France, while in Spain, the kings had triumphed by using the forces of one part of their dominions against the other.

Thus in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Crown was far more powerful in all these lands than ever before, and kings and statesmen viewed these popular assemblies as perilous, barbarous things, to be avoided as much as possible, kept down, and silenced.

Education and civilisation had, however, done much to render the Third Estate much more resolute than of old. Lawyers were no longer clergy, but men trained in jurisprudence, and in France forming a very large class in all the provincial parliaments. Merchants and chief tradesfolk were often wealthier, better educated, and more refined than the nobles, and besides these the English country gentlemen, who furnished the knights of the shire, were a sturdy race, far from deficient in intelligence, and many of them having studied in the Inns of Court as part of their education. The depression of the nobles had brought these to the front. While the magistracy in France, having been for the most part favourable to Henri IV. as the legal sovereign, had been favoured by him, Elizabeth had always loved her Commons and paid court to the people, though she showed herself resolved to tolerate no presumption on the part of their representatives. To rule without demands for money had been one great object of her statecraft and secret

of her popularity, while that of Sully had been to recruit the ruined finances of the kingdom. Each had been unscrupulous. Elizabeth had, like her grandfather, trusted to the dues obtainable by indirect methods, fines imposed in the Star Chamber, fees on conferring knighthood, the sale of licences, and the like; and she had gratified her courtiers by gifts of monopolies for the sale of certain articles which cost her nothing. but gave them large revenues.

Henri IV. and Sully had to ask no one's leave for taxation, and their great object was to keep their nobles quiet. So they had created all manner of offices about the Court, and attached pensions to them, and by the advice of M. Paulet they raised large sums by letting the magistrates secure the succession of their offices to their sons. But as they were good managers, and really loved the people, their taxation had not been oppressive, and fatal as the system was, everybody had acquiesced.

What was tolerable under a Henri IV. or an Elizabeth was, however, a very different matter in the weak and lavish hands that succeeded them. James gave to all his favourites, multiplied monopolies for them, levied customs at the seaports, demanded forced loans never repaid, and raised money by inventing offices at Court and selling them, insisting on gentlemen being knighted at a price of from 60*l.* to 300*l.*: still it was unavoidable that he should at times assemble a Parliament. He did so for the third time in 1614, encouraged by Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Neville, who undertook to manage the Commons with the help of a few more. They were therefore called the undertakers. However, the Commons were not so easily managed as the undertakers expected. They held that the customs and loans ought not to be taken without their consent, and absolutely refused to vote the King any money till he had given redress for these grievances. The scheme of the undertakers came to light, and gave great offence, though James tried to deny it; a letter of Sir Henry Neville's confuted him; however, he regarded all the complaints of his Commons as mere presumption. He sent a message that he would dissolve Parliament at once unless the taxes he asked were instantly voted.

The Commons, undaunted, answered that they would grant no supplies till he had redressed their grievances. Thereupon he is said to have sent for them to Whitehall, and torn up all their Bills before their faces. On the 7th of June he dissolved the Parliament, and committed five members to the Tower for violence of speech. Not a Bill had been passed, and this was therefore called the Addled Parliament. For six years James contrived to reign without summoning another, raising money by fines, impositions, customs, and all sorts of semi-legal shifts and oppressions, in which he held himself justified by what in his eyes was the factious and disloyal opposition of the Parliament.

The same year, 1614, saw the last popular assembly in France. There Marie de Medici had become Regent in 1610. Her chief characteristic in the eyes of her husband had been her intense obstinacy, which had led to many quarrels with him. He wrote to the governess of the young

CAMEO VIII.
—
The Concini.
1610.

Dauphin, Madame de Montglas: "I am displeased that you do not tell me that you whipped my son, for I will and command you to whip him every time he shows himself obstinate about anything wrong, knowing by my own experience that nothing is of so much use."

The Dauphin was only nine years old at the time of Henri's death, and the King had probably not perceived how much inferior to himself in brain power and force of character nature had made the child, or he might have rather enjoined a training in thinking and acting independently, whereas his chief dread seems to have been that Queen Marie's sullen tenacity of purpose should have been inherited. This obstinacy had made her persist in keeping about her the favourite companion of her youth, Leonora Galigai, contrary to the advice of her own family and the desire of Henri. The toleration Henri exacted for his own transgressions was purchased by his endurance of this intriguing woman, and her adventurer husband, Concino Concini, but hitherto their influence had only been exercised on domestic matters in the palace, much to the King's provocation, but not to the public injury.

At first, however, Marie becomingly announced that she should follow her husband's policy. She spent the morning in business, ordering the Chancellor, Sully, and the ministers, to come every morning at eleven o'clock with an account of all that was going on, in the presence of the princes of the blood and other persons of rank. After her dinner, until three o'clock, she gave audience to people on business; she then shut herself up in her private room, but returned in an hour to the apartment where all the Court might be assembled, and nobles and ladies might come and go on the easy terms that prevailed in the French royal household till it was stiffened by its Spanish queens. Between seven and eight o'clock, good-nights passed round, and the Queen remained with her inner circle of intimates, such as the old Duchess of Guise, with all her sons and daughters, Bassompierre, Grammont, Rochefoucauld, &c. They stayed till ten o'clock, when the Queen supped, and lastly spent her last and most intimate hour with the Signora Concini, who was with her again in the early morning, but at this period never showed herself in attendance in the assembled Court.

Leonora was a small, thin, pale woman in bad health, who always went about veiled, as a protection, she said, from the *jettatura*, or evil eye, the great terror of Italians. She was full of ability and intrigue, with a nervous excitability about her, which she used to work off by rolling little balls of wax between her fingers as she talked—an unfortunate diversion, since wax was connected in the popular mind with sorcery. Otherwise she was very cautious, and kept entirely in the background in order that her influence over her mistress might excite no jealousy; but she is said to have taken large bribes from those who wanted appointments. Her husband, Signor Concini, slept in a little lodge at the end of the garden of the Louvre. He was of better birth than she, and was a fine, tall, handsome, dark man, well trained in all bodily exercises, brave, liberal, inclined to magnificence, and bold

and licentious in *repartee* in his semi-Italian tongue, for he had never properly learnt French. Scandal said he was the Queen's lover, and being aware of this, Marie appeared to keep him at a distance; but he made a great boast of his power and influence, as if everything depended on him. Sully sent one of his secretaries to call on him, and offered to be of service to him, but Concini showed himself offended that the Duke had not paid his respects in person, adding, "If M. de Sully wants anything, he will be in more need of our assistance than we of his!"

The Queen retained her husband's ministers, most of whom were old men, Sully, at fifty, being the youngest. She preferred, however, the remains of the League, and she added to the estates of the house of Guise by promoting the marriage of the Duke with the young widowed Duchess of Montpensier, who was the only heiress of the great house of Joyeuse, after the Cardinal Duke. She had, however, confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and in the existing humour of France, nothing was so much dreaded as another civil war, and the general sentiment was, "Talk no more of Huguenots and Papists, but let all be good Frenchmen alike." The Queen invited the Duke of Bouillon from Sedan, and wrote herself to Duplessis Mornay. The dispute about Juliers was still undecided, and Prince Maurice was besieging the fortress. The death of Henri IV. had for a time prevented the outbreak of the great German war that was impending, though the Queen was bound to permit the march of the troops that had been guaranteed. They never went into action, for Juliers having surrendered to Maurice, the Princess of Brandenburg and Neuburg held possession of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers while the Emperor was appealed to.

The Prince of Condé had heard the news of the death of Henri IV. at Milan, where the Count of Fuentes, purely for the sake of embroiling France, as it appears, urged him to set up a claim to the throne as the true heir, all the children of Marie de Medici being illegitimate; but he was too wise to be tempted by the promise of Spanish aid, and he came home through Brussels, without choosing to see his wife, for he had actually applied to the Pope to declare his marriage null. Though bred up as a Catholic from his birth, he was considered as a sort of head by the Huguenots, who hastened to meet him. Bouillon and Sully came as far as Senlis, and he rode into Paris at the head of 1,500 gentlemen. The Queen was very gracious to him, and no doubt was much obliged to him for neither disputing her son's crown nor her own regency, and she showed her gratitude by considerable grants out of the treasury that Sully had amassed with so much pride, and which she was soon scattering in all directions in gifts to every one whom she either loved or feared.

She took the young King to be crowned at Rheims on the 17th of October, 1610, and he there took two inconsistent oaths, one to extirpate heresy, the other to observe the Edict of Nantes. He was a dull boy, and probably understood the meaning of neither. The Court was in a quarrelsome state, and the disputes about precedence were hot and violent,

CAMEO VIII.

Dismissal of Sully. 1611.

especially as Concini had been made Marquis d' Ancre and first gentleman of the bedchamber, a dignity which conflicted with that of the Duke of Bellegarde, the first equerry. They challenged one another, and the Queen had to place them both under arrest, for this was a period of most fierce and murderous duelling.

On one point all were of one mind, everybody was demanding grants, governments of provinces or cities, pensions or augmentation of pensions, and all turned against Sully, who guarded the treasury—his pride and delight—like his own child, and refused every one whom he could refuse. Sometimes he was told of grants made by the late King, and these he knew to be false and treated with scorn, even though some of them bore the impress of the Great Seal of Henri IV., which ought to have been broken, but which the Chancellor had basely kept, in order to antedate certain commissions.

Every one, except Guise and Bellegarde, demanded that the stern old watch-dog should be dismissed; and Marie, on the 26th of January, 1611, asked him to give up his office of superintendent of the finance and Captain of the Bastille, offering him 300,000 livres in compensation. Cardinal de Joyeuse that same winter found the Concini element unbearable, and set out for Rome, and the Queen also contrived politely to send the Duke of Epernon into the provinces, so that the Court was entirely changed.

Sully was still Grand Master of the Ordnance and Governor of Poitou, and he now repaired to the General Assembly of the Huguenots, which, in conformity with the Edict of Nantes, the Queen had permitted to be convoked at Saumur in May. The Huguenots at this time had only five hundred congregations in fifteen provinces, whence seventy members, lay and clerical, were chosen. The great nobles, Bouillon, Sully, Tremouille, Rohan, and Soubise, were also invited. The governor of Saumur was Duplessis Mornay, who was elected President of the Assembly. This was a great offence to Bouillon, who had changed the place of the assembly from Châtelherault in order not to be in Sully's government, and who now ascribed the choice of Mornay in his stead to the old Duke's jealousy, and tried to gain over the Duke de Rohan. He failed, however; Rohan was a man of great ability and good sense, honest, true, and faithful, and so staunch that he became the great champion of the falling cause of the Huguenots. The majority of the Assembly agreed in intreating Sully not to part with his remaining offices for any consideration in money, and Mornay brought about a reconciliation between the two Dukes, but Bouillon's words showed that the old offence still rankled. "Let us forget the past," he said; "I will be your friend and servant. If you are ever attacked for your religion at Sully, I will bring my cannon to defend you, as heartily as you prepared those of the arsenal to ruin me at Sedan."

The Huguenots sent up a list of thirty-seven demands to the Court. One was that their faith should no longer be stigmatised as *La Religion prétendue Réformée;* another that they might keep their places of security

CAMEO VIII.

Rubens's royal portraits.

ten years longer, and that when a fief passed from a Huguenot to a Catholic lord, the residents upon it should not be deprived of their place of worship. Two commissaries from the Government were present and on their side made demands to which Bouillon must have acceded, but Rohan held out for resistance, and thus there was a division in the Huguenot party, which was more weakened by toleration than by persecution. However, the General Assembly was looked on with evil eyes by the Court, and above all by the cleverest man there, Armand de Richelieu, who, as the younger brother of a Duke, was already, at twenty-seven years old, Bishop of Luçon. His statesman's eye saw that all assemblies and free discussions tended to encourage resistance to the monarchical power, and it was the principle of ministers of the seventeenth century to gather all power into the royal hands.

Marie had the Medici taste for art, and she employed the greatest artist of the time, Peter Paul Rubens, on a series of pictures for the Luxembourg Palace, which are now in the Louvre. They are in the style of allegorical mythology, then popular, showing the Queen enthroned, and supported on clouds by all manner of Virtues, Powers, and Deities, so that it is quite a relief to come to the only one that condescends to ordinary life, where Marie is receiving a medallion from her husband over the head of their little son, and Henri's grand eagle profile and grey beard stand out as far more worthy of the brush of Rubens than all the substantial Flemish-looking deities around.

Rubens had not even one such good subject when he painted the ceilings of Whitehall in the same mythological style, with King James, ermined, robed, crowned, and sceptred, looking extremely uncomfortable among the clouds, where various large female Virtues are chasing away the contrary Vices.

Meantime the renewed activity of the Church did not slacken, although the Court was little influenced by principle. Pierre de Bérulle, sprung of a family employed in the Parliament of Paris, was a devoted priest who had given up the family inheritance to work in the Church. Cardinal du Perran had said of him, "If you wish to convince heretics, bring them to me; if you would convert them, take them to the Bishop of Geneva (François de Sales); if both to convert and convince them, take them to the Abbé de Bérulle."

The good men here mentioned, together with Father Cotton, and Vincent de Paul, a young and most pious and charitable man growing up among them, were specially grieved at the neglect and almost heathen state of ignorance of the country parishes, where scarcely any religious instruction was given. Sermons were hardly ever preached, and as to personal religion, it was the common custom before a first Communion to collect together all the boys of a parish and require from them *en masse* a so-called confession of their sins.

The extreme ignorance and want of spiritual quickening of the priesthood was rightly judged to be the cause of this lamentable state of things, and after much consultation, De Bérulle brought forward a plan which

CAMEO VIII.
The Oratory.
1611.

had been suggested to him by a good lady, Madame Acarie, of founding an association of clergy, not bound by any new rule, but merely to carry out their ordination vows to the utmost of their power. Such an association had already been at work in Italy, having been commenced by S. Filippo Neri, and had done good service in awakening zeal among the priesthood. The difficulty was to find a head for it. Modesty and diffidence made Bérulle hang back, until he was absolutely commanded by Cardinal de Joyeuse, Gondi Archbishop of Paris, and even the Queen; and in 1611, he, with four other chosen clergy, opened a house at Paris which was known as the Oratory. When asked what their rule was, they answered in S. Paul's words: "Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing, but in everything, with prayer and supplication, let your requests be made known unto God." Here they studied the Scriptures and prayed, receiving among them for a time such clergy or candidates for Holy Orders as wished to learn habits of deeper devotion, or to obtain further instruction. They did what we now should call mission work in Paris, and as their numbers increased they had houses in other towns, and seminaries or theological colleges, in which they educated many clergy to a far higher estimate of their office. A priest who was an Oratorian was not thus a member of any order, he was only freshly bound to his vows.

A great revival was also taking place in the Order of S. Benedict; among the monks, beginning from the Abbey of S. Vanne; among the nuns at Port Royal, where the young abbess, Angélique Arnauld, so irregularly brought in, gradually awoke to a sense of her trust and responsibility, and threw herself into the reformation of her own convent. With great difficulty, she enforced the rule she had sworn to observe. Her own father and mother viewed their exclusion from the cloistered precincts as a cruel and unfilial act, and the tears, objurgations and faintings on both sides, on the days they tried to take her by storm, made *la journée du Guichet*, as it was called, memorable as the victory of rule and order. The nuns of Port Royal became again what their founders had imagined, full of intense devotion and self-sacrifice, and Angélique was chosen by the Superior of the whole Order, the Abbot of Citeaux, to bring discipline back into other convents, above all that of Maubuisson, whence Antoinette d'Estrées had been expelled for gross misconduct.

Angélique and four nuns were installed there, and had daily encounters with the old nuns accustomed to laxity and misrule, but her gentle firmness was gaining the day, when Antoinette made her escape, and gathering about her a whole band of reckless, ruffianly gentlemen, to whom the whole matter was a joke, she descended on Maubuisson at midnight, and actually turned the Abbess of Port Royal out into the fields with all the nuns and novices who adhered to her. Most of them had never been on foot outside a cloister in their lives, but Mére Angélique made them walk two and two, telling their beads, with their veils down, through the mud and mire, till at sunrise they reached the nearest place

CAMEO VIII.

Betrothal of Louis XIII. 1613.

of shelter. The Provost Marshal of Paris, however, came to the rescue, and again carried off Madame de Maubuisson to well-merited imprisonment, while Madame de Port Royal succeeded in establishing the same perfect rule and devotion as in her own house.

Thus there is much to remind us that—

> "Pause where we may upon the desert road,
> Some shelter is in sight, some sacred safe abode;"

and the road is desert indeed when we turn our eyes to the main stream of events in France, where there seemed, since Sully's fall, to be no idea of virtue or patriotism, only of mutual jealousy and hatred among the princes of the blood and great nobles, who were united in nothing but hatred to the favourites of the Queen Regent, who now bore the title of Marquis and Marquise d'Ancre, Concini having further been made a Marshal of France. He liked dice much better than State papers, and troubled himself little with business, and the Queen's only notion of government was through petty Court schemes and intrigues.

Marie wanted to marry her second son to the little heiress of Montpensier, but the boy died at four years old, and the child was reserved for his infant brother Gaston. The Count de Soissons, at the same time, actually promised his daughter to the only son of Concini, but this proceeding on the part of a prince of the blood royal was so shocking to the French nobility that representations were made to the Queen. She herself was angered at such presumption, and told Concini that it must not be, whereupon he awkwardly informed Soissons that his wife objected to the match, thus putting on him the double disgrace of offering his son to the favourites, and then being refused by them.

The princes all began to unite against the favourite, while Marie, on her side, strengthened herself by a treaty of marriage, giving her eldest daughter Elizabeth to Philip, Prince of the Asturias and heir of Spain, and receiving in return Anne of Austria, the eldest Spanish Infanta, as a wife to the young King. This was a shock to the whole Protestant party on the Continent, and it inspired James I. with an unfortunate desire for the like connection for his own children. The treaty was concluded without the consent of the Parliament of Paris, and it greatly offended not only the Huguenots but the adherents of the old traditional line of policy which set France against Spain. The two Bourbons, Condé and Soissons, united with Bouillon and most of the Huguenots, left the court, seized Meziéres, and broke into open revolt.

The Queen pacified them by large subsidies, giving up cities to them and promising the convocation of the States-General. She was, however, resolved that this should be deferred till her son was of age.

Kings of France attain their majority on entering their fourteenth year, and on the 2nd of October, 1614, Louis XIII., accompanied by his mother, his little brother Gaston, Duke of Anjou, and all the chief grandees, appeared at the Parliament of Paris. A curtained purple velvet couch or throne was the royal station when the kings appeared

CAMEO VIII.

Majority of Louis XIII. 1614.

at this Parliament, and their sessions upon it were called beds of justice. These were held whenever there was an Edict to be registered, especially if the King wanted to overpower any resistance on the part of the Parliament.

On this bed of justice, young Louis XIII. confirmed the Edict of Nantes and engaged to observe the laws. His mother then resigned the regency, and he begged her to continue to administer his affairs. Thus her power depended on him, and could not be taken away by the princes.

The King opened the States-General on the 27th of October, 1614, three months after the dissolution of the Addled Parliament. An attempt was made by the clergy, 140 in number, to procure the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, but this was defeated. The nobles demanded that the Paulette (the payment for the inheritance of offices) should be abolished, but as such payment alone secured all the magistracies from being absorbed by the nobles, the Third Estate resisted it, and likewise demanded the reduction of the taxes, and a modification of the system of courtiers' pensions, which weighed so heavily on the people. Under Henri IV. the number of offices about the royal person and the pensions attached to them had been nearly doubled, and as neither nobles nor clergy paid taxes, the burden imposed on the burghers and peasantry was becoming more and more severe, and made itself the more felt because of the loss of Sully's economical hand, and on account of the lavish gifts of the Queen, while the Marquise d'Ancre took bribes for all the appointments of the Church and State resting with the Crown.

The Auvergnat deputy, Savaron, representative of Clermont, was sent to the chamber of nobles to support the demand, and he fearlessly told these haughty aristocrats "that the King was obliged to buy the fidelity of the greedy nobles, and that their excessive expenses forced the people to eat grass like cattle," and that if the people, who bore the burden of their pensions, were not relieved, they might shake off the yoke as the Franks had done that of the Romans.

His words were slow in being fulfilled, but fulfilled they were, in the most fearful manner, after nearly two centuries. At the moment, there was such a storm of fury from the gentlemen that the clergy were forced to interfere and mediate between them. An apology was demanded from Savaron, but he only answered that he had not intended any affront, adding that he had borne arms for five years before becoming a magistrate, and was ready to answer in either profession. As this was not conciliatory, the Civil Lieutenant of Paris, de Mesures, was chosen to speak, but he did not mend matters by comparing the three orders to three sons of the same house, of which the clergy was the eldest, the nobility the second, the Third Estate the youngest. The elder sons, he said, often devoured their house, while the younger one made them illustrious!

The noblemen were more angry still at this assumption that all were brethren, and complained to the King, who ordered the Third

CAMEO VIII.

Dismissal of the States General. 1614.

Estate to satisfy the gentlemen, but nothing could be obtained more than that the offence was not intentional. After all, the equality asserted was not of all mankind, it was only that of the lawyers or magistracy, the *noblesse de la robe*, as they called themselves.

Each order was jealous of the other, neither understood that union in bearing one another's burdens could alone have prevented oppression, or brought true strength and glory to the Crown or the nation. Three months passed away in disputes; then Marie de Medici insisted that each order should present its *cahier*, or portfolio, containing their requests. They were brought on the 23rd of February, 1615.

The Baron of Senecey presented the *cahier* of the nobility; Miron Provost of Paris, that of the Third Estate; Armand de Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, that of the clergy, and his harangue, begging for the publication of the decrees of Trent and the recall of the Jesuits to the University, was so eloquent as entirely to obliterate all the force of the other two.

The next day, when the deputies of the Third Estate came to the door of the chamber to resume their discussion, they found it closed. The hangings had been removed, the benches taken away, and orders to disperse were sent to them from the King. There were shouts of rage and shame, but the deputies were powerless. Vague promises came from Court that the pensions should be diminished, that the Paulette should be done away with, and the farmers of the taxes—who were much like the publicans of old—should be restrained. But not one of these promises was ever kept.

And thus a shifty woman and a dull boy overthrew the remnant of the representation of the people of France, and confirmed the fatal predominance of the Crown and immunities and oppressions of the nobility. The States-General did not meet again till 1789. Happily for us Parliament met in 1620, after an interval of six years instead of a hundred and seventy-five.

Louis XIII. was very slow, backward and indolent, and hated all kinds of study. He seemed much attached to Alexandre de Vendôme, his half-brother, the second son of Gabrielle; but the Queen, fearing that this might prove a perilous influence, sent the lad off to Malta, he being a Knight of St. John. Then, to divert her son's mind, she looked for another companion for him. He was very fond of hawks, merlins, and all the varieties of falcons, keeping his rooms full of them, and a playmate was therefore chosen for him who should be learned in falconry and nothing else. This person was found in Charles Albert de Luynes, a remarkably handsome man of about thirty, very poor, but reckoned as a gentleman. An office was created for him by the title of Maître de la Volerie du Cabinet, and the Queen and her friends thought there was no fear of his aspiring beyond hawks, or of his teaching his master to interfere with the favourites.

Soon after the Queen set off southwards to exchange her daughter for the Spanish Infanta. It was a slow progress, for the little Elizabeth

CAMEO VIII.

Marriage of Louis XIII. 1614.

had the small-pox on the road, and had to wait at Poitiers for her recovery.

On the 18th of November she was espoused at Bordeaux to the Duke of Guise as proxy for the Prince of Asturias, and on the same day the Duke of Uxeda, representing her brother, married Anne of Austria at Burgos.

On the 9th of November, 1615, two splendid tents were erected on the Isle of Pheasants in the middle of the boundary river Bidassoa, and there the two young ladies were exchanged for one another, Anne having first signed a renunciation of all possible rights to the Crown of Spain for herself and her heirs. She was six days older than the King, a fair girl with beautiful hair; but no one paid much heed to her, her young husband least of all. He apparently attended to nothing but his hawks and hounds, while disputes ran high between Condè and the Marquis d'Ancre; reconciliations were attempted and quarrels broke out again, and every prince or great nobleman was disgusted and on the verge of rebellion.

Concini saw that universal hatred was directed against him and his wife and would fain have escaped. His only daughter died at thirteen in 1617, and his grief was very great. Marshal Bassompierre went to see them, and condoled with them, and the Marquis then said that not only was he overwhelmed with sorrow for his daughter, but that he foresaw his own approaching ruin. He implored his wife to return to Italy with him while yet there was time; but she declared that it would be cowardly and ungrateful to forsake the Queen after all her benefactions.

After all, they were not malicious favourites. They had been like tame animals about the Court, and all they can be accused of is of receiving the wealth that the Queen heaped upon them, and accepting the bribes freely offered, while they were incapable of strengthening her hands against the anarchy of the nobility, and they had acquiesced in the effacement of the King and his entire want of training in his duties.

Luynes, however, was resolved to rise on the ruins of the favourites. He constantly talked to the King of the bondage in which they kept him; and Louis, at sixteen, felt some stirrings of ambition, and considerable interest in a plot which gave him no trouble.

Several men whom Luynes trusted were brought to the palace and employed about the hawks. Luynes also confided in one of the captains of the guards, the Baron de Vitry, whom he had been observed never to salute when d'Ancre passed by. After making Vitry take an oath of secrecy, Luynes told him of the plot and brought him to the King, who gave him orders to shoot down Concini, promising him the marshal's *baton* if he complied. Vitry consented, drew his brother and brother-in-law into the scheme, and then chose out other gentlemen, whom he posted in different parts of the court of the Louvre.

For the 25th of April the King had announced a hunting party, and stationed horses and a carriage in readiness for an escape in case of failure. One of the guards was stationed at the gate of the Louvre to

CAMEO VIII.

Murder of Concini. 1617.

watch for the marquis's coming from his own house to go to his wife's apartments in the Louvre, and await a summons from the Queen. At ten o'clock the guard saw him, and called Vitry who came out, collecting all whom he had stationed in the court, each of them with a pistol under his cloak. They met Concini and thirty gentlemen attendants, and Vitry was in such haste that he would have passed him if his brother-in-law, M. de Hallier, had not said, "Brother, there's the marshal!"

"Where?" cried Vitry.

"Here," cried another, firing the first shot; others did the same, Concini dropped on his knees, Vitry and the rest despatched him with their swords, and instantly stripped the body of everything valuable.

The young King looked out at the window with his great carabine, and called out "Thanks, friends, now I am a King!" He desired that his father's old counsellors should be sent for, and there were loud cries of *Vive le Roi!* in response.

The tidings came to the Queen Mother, who began to weep and lament, but for her own fall, not for that of her friends, whom she accused of having brought her into trouble. Some one said, "Ah! madame, you alone can restrain the poor *Maréchale* when she hears this terrible news."

"I have something else to do," she almost brutally answered, "You don't know how to tell her? Go and sing in her ears *L'hanno ammazzato*."

Nor would she give the unhappy woman a shelter in her rooms. She presently sent for the King, but he would not come; indeed he was standing on a billiard-table, receiving compliments from the former malcontents, who seem to have considered that a murder by command of a King was no crime.

The unfortunate Leonora was found on her bed, the mattress stuffed with her jewels. She was dragged to the Bastille, and her husband's body was buried at night under the organ at the church of S. Germain; but the populace tore it up, dragged it about the streets, and finally burnt it. Luynes pretended to think all sorts of dangers to the King might lurk in his mother's apartments. He actually came and searched them for barrels of gunpowder prepared to blow up the Court. He shut the Queen up closely, and would not let her see any one, not even her children, and at last, as a favour, she was permitted to retire to Blois.

The little son of Concini, a boy of twelve, was arrested, and kept without clothes or food for a whole day. Then the Count of Fieschi, equerry to the young Queen, brought him to her and told her no one could dance a *branle* so well. Anne of Austria gave him some sweetmeats, made him dance, and he was then imprisoned at Nantes.

Leonora, destitute of everything, was shut up in the Conciergerie, and the Parliament were called on to try her for treason and sorcery!

The proofs were, her consultations with a Jew physician, whom the Grand Duke of Tuscany had sent with his daughter; her having had a newly killed cock applied to her head when in great pain; her trick of rolling wax in her fingers; her possession of the schemes of nativity of

CAMEO VIII. — *Execution of Leonora.* 1617.

the Queen and her children; and her ascendency over the Queen. She replied calmly and sensibly to all the interrogations, and one of her replies has become proverbial. When she was asked by what witchcraft she had enthralled the Queen, she answered, "Only by the power of a strong mind over a weak one."

All that really was proved was, that the poor woman had lived in constant dread of being a mark for sorcery, and that her supposed incantations were only intended to protect herself. Her doom was, however, decided, though five judges refused to take part in it, and the Procureur-Général Bret only agreed to the sentence because Luynes gave him his word of honour that she would be pardoned.

The sentence was that she should be beheaded and afterwards burnt, her goods confiscated, and her son's blood attainted. She had only expected to be banished, and she cried aloud in her native tongue, *Oimè, poveretta!*"

There was no pardon for her, and she underwent her sentence with great courage and composure, only, as she saw the assembled crowds, saying, "What a number of people to see one poor afflicted woman!" Her demeanour changed their hatred into pity, and assuredly no woman was ever more cruelly and unjustly treated.

Though Louis XIII. talked of his father's counsellors, there was no more place for the best of them—Sully and Duplessis Mornay. Once indeed he did send for Sully, who walked grand, stiff, and grave through a laughing host of fashionable youths, who were sneering at the dress of the last generation.

"Sire," he said to the young King, "when your Majesty's father did me the honour to speak with me on business, the first thing he did was to send away all the buffoons."

Louis never requested an interview with him again, and Sully bitterly felt the contrast. He often took out and kissed the medallion of the head of the great Henri, which hung by a chain round his neck, speaking of him as his dear master. The duke retired to his estates, and spent his time between Sully, Château Villebon, and at La Chapelle d'Angillon, a stately ducal palace, where he kept an almost regal Court, so much so that the domestic doctor declared himself to have visited eighty sick gentlemen and soldiers in one morning, without perceiving any diminution in the train, or difficulty in performing the service of the house.

It was managed with great grandeur and austerity. The duke spent some time every morning in prayer and reading; then went to work with four secretaries on his Memoirs, which were all addressed to himself—"You were wounded—you climbed a tree—you advised the King." He also attended to business, for he was still Grand Master of the Ordnance and Governor of Poitou and Rochelle, and was the adviser of all the Huguenots.

Afterwards he went for a short walk. Then a great bell was rung and the whole household stood marshalled in order to see him march

CAMEO VIII.

Sully's household and death. 1641.

out, his equerries and gentlemen before him, then two Swiss guards, and then himself, with a favoured friend or two: French and Swiss guards came behind, and two porters last. Dinner was in the great hall, the duke and duchess sitting on armchairs, all his family on stools. Only the chief guests, gentlemen and ladies of honour, dined with him; but there was a second table for the younger folk in another hall. After sitting for some time after dinner, there ensued another stately walk with all the same ceremonies, or a drive in the park with the duchess. Then followed a few more hours of business and a supper in the same order.

Many Roman Catholics were in his household, and he took care that they should diligently follow their religion, though he does not seem to have been as fond of sermons as were most of the Huguenots. His wife had been a Roman Catholic, but joined him in worship on her marriage. Still, however, when in the castle of Villebon, she used to haunt a private gallery where she could hear the Hours sung in an adjoining church, and she and her daughter, the Duchess of Rohan, washed all the altar linen with their own hands. Yet when the duke, in 1641, was dying, at eighty-two years of age, she refused to admit some Capuchin friars, whom he had wished to see, sending word that if they persisted in trying to enter, they should be thrown into the moat. She probably could not bear that his death should contradict his life. She worked tapestry beautifully, and was a dame with all the nobility, grandeur, and good sense that befitted the wife of Maximilien de Rosny.

CAMEO IX.

THE ARMINIAN PERSECUTION.

(1603—1619.)

England.
1603. James I.

France.
1589. Henry IV.
1610. Louis XIII.

Spain.
1599. Philip III.

Germany.
1576. Rudolph II.

Rome.
1592. Clement VIII.
1605. Paul V.

CAMEO IX.

Calvinistic doctrine.

THE term Arminian is so often supposed to mean a species of heretic, and to mark as such some of our greatest and best Churchmen, that we must go into its history, although it came from a foreign soil.

Calvin had laid great stress on those passages of the Epistle to the Romans which speak of the foreknowledge of God as to the ultimate fate of each individual. Thence he deduced the doctrine of predestination, which denied that the lot of human beings depended on themselves, and declared that they had no real free will, but were from the first destined either to mercy or to wrath, and moved like puppets under their doom. This teaching, of course, led, on the one hand to careless assurance, on the other to reckless despair, though happily there were many loving and faithful souls between these two extremes who never realised the full import of their creed. While the struggle was for life and death between Rome and the Reformation, the details of teaching were not examined into, but in the peace of European weapons, the theological war began.

The doctrine of predestination was the most fully expressed in what was called the Heidelberg Catechism; and a synod of the pastors of Holland had decreed that this must be signed by all their preachers, and be to them what the Thirty-nine Articles are to the English Church and the Confession of Augsburg to the Lutherans. Many preachers hesitated to pledge themselves to doctrines that they did not think Scriptural nor according to primitive faith, and still more, not accordant with the eternal mercy of God. Of these Jacob Hermann, a minister of Amsterdam, or as he Latinised his name, Arminius, was the foremost, and under his influence a number of clergy refused their signature.

The University of Leyden in 1603 chose Arminius as their Professor

of Theology. The opposite party, in great wrath, insisted on holding a synod, and the States-General gave permission, but at first only on condition that there should be a revision of the confession of faith and catechism. The ministers refused, but the States-General insisted, led by John Barneveldt, then Advocate and Keeper of the Seals, who declared in their name that as "foster fathers and protectors of the churches to them every right belonged." It was an Erastian sentiment, but this opinion was held by all reformed governments, including the English, and Barneveldt spoke in the hope of mitigating Calvinistic violence. The Advocate of the States-General was in fact their mouthpiece. They might vote, but no one expressed their decisions at home or abroad save the Advocate; and Barneveldt, both from position and character, was thus the chief manager of civil affairs, and an equal if not a superior power to Maurice of Nassau, the Stadtholder and commander-in-chief, and recently, by the death of his elder brother, Prince of Orange. The question had even been mooted of giving him the sovereignty, but to this Barneveldt was strongly averse.

Maurice knew very little about the argument, and his real feelings were Arminian, though jealousy of Barneveldt made him favour the opposite party, whose chief champion was Jacob Gomer, or Gomerus as he called himself. King James, though really holding with the Arminians, disliked Barneveldt, and therefore threw all the weight of England into the scale against them. Arguments were held before Maurice and before the university, in which three champions on the one side were pitted against three on the other, but nothing came of them but a good deal of audacious profanity, till Arminius, in ministering to the sick during a visitation of the plague at Amsterdam, caught the disease and died. He was so much respected that the University of Leyden pensioned his widow. They chose a young Genevese, named Conrad Voorst or Vorstius, as his successor.

Voorst had written two books, one on the nature of God, *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, and the other, *Exegesis Apologetica*, in which (by Fuller's account) there was a considerable amount of materialism, and likewise what amounted to a denial of the Divine Omniscience, being no doubt a reaction from extreme Calvinism. King James met with the book, and was horrified at its statements. He conceived himself bound to interfere both as protector to the States—which he said had been cemented with English blood—and because the University of Leyden was much frequented by the youth of England and Scotland, who often completed their legal studies there. He ordered Sir Ralf Winwood, his ambassador at the Hague, to deliver a sharp remonstrance to the States, and to read them a catalogue of the dangerous and blasphemous errors that he had detected, recommending the States to protest against the appointment, and burn the books.

Barneveldt was much distressed, and uncertain whether James really was speaking out of zeal for orthodoxy, or to have an excuse for a quarrel. Letters and arguments passed without number. Vorstius

CAMEO IX.
Vorstius.
1605.

defended himself in a speech three or four hours' long, and wrote numerous answers, which did not satisfy the king. Leyden supported the professor it had invited, and, together with Barneveldt, felt that to expel a man whom they had chosen, at the bidding of a foreign sovereign, was almost accepting a yoke like that of the Inquisition. Perhaps the truth of the matter was that Vorstius was really heretical in doctrine, but that James had no right to meddle in the affairs of a foreign university, and thus he enlisted on behalf of the object of his enmity men who would not have espoused the cause of heresy, but who were fain to resist unauthorised interference. Maurice, on the other hand, was glad to set the English King against Barneveldt, and to represent that support of the foes of strict Calvinism meant treachery to the Republic and a betrayal to Spain. Winwood, on the King's part, insisted on Vorstius's dismissal and banishment.

Barneveldt said that even if the man ceased to be a professor, he believed the magistrates of Leyden would retain him in the place.

Winwood said if they dared to do so his master could make them ask pardon on their knees.

"I was born in liberty," said Barneveldt. "I cannot digest such language. The King of Spain himself durst not speak in such a style."

"The King of England is peer to the King of Spain," returned Sir Ralf, "and his motto is '*Nemo me impune lacessit.*'"

They parted in anger, and James had the obnoxious works burnt at St. Paul's Cross, while his remonstrance prevented the States from permitting the professor to take possession of his chair. He never lectured, but lived privately at Gouda, waiting for a final decision of his case.

This was, however, aside from the great controversy on predestination. Its chief effect was to sow distrust of Barneveldt and lead James to dislike the party which he supported, and which was unjustly confounded with that of Vorstius.

Maurice's own preacher, Uytenbogen, wrote a remonstrance on behalf of the Arminians, who were therefore sometimes termed Remonstrants, while the Gomerists, from their answer, were called Counter-Remonstrants. Unfortunately, political jealousy of Barneveldt on the part of Maurice caused the influence of Uytenbogen to decline. Most of the preachers and of the populace held to the Counter-Remonstrants and their old-fashioned Calvinism, most of the nobles and magistrates were Remonstrants. The question began to branch into a second, namely, whether the state had power to control the faith of all its subjects, and whether when it convoked a synod it could control its decisions, or was bound to enforce them absolutely and without question. A printer pertinently asked, on a strip of paper thrust into the lottery, "In the name of the Prince of Orange, I ask once and again, what difference lies between the Inquisition of Rotterdam and Spain?" The effusion was traced home to him, and he not only lost his prize in the lottery, but had a fortnight's imprisonment, and was fed on bread and water.

There was an absolute schism. Whichever party was predominant in

a place turned the other out of church. Appeals were made to the Stadtholder, and he became angry. The States-General at large, with Barneveldt to speak for them, were Remonstrant; the states of Holland were Counter-Remonstrant; and one of the questions thus at issue was how far the power of the general government outweighed that of a particular state, while Maurice professed to know little about the abstract point, but to be sure that he and the Advocate could not dance to the same tune. James I. wrote them a wise letter, advising them to separate politics from theology, and to tolerate both opinions, and this had for the time a good effect. The chief point of the struggle was whether the synod should be convoked, and those who did not desire the ruin of the moderate party, such as Uytenbogen, Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, the most learned deputy in the states, opposed it with all their might, till now the question was, should the Stadtholder over-ride the States-General.

However, by steps here impossible to follow, Maurice destroyed the ascendency of Barneveldt, and the reports that the old statesman was playing into the hands of Spain grew more and more current. The magistrates of the Arminian persuasion found themselves depending for protection on the Waartgelders, a sort of burgher militia, who endeavoured to keep the peace between the furious mobs who struggled on either side. Accusations flew about freely that now Maurice, now Barneveldt wanted the sovereignty. England favoured the former; and after Henri IV. was dead, French support little availed the latter, but rather did him harm. Maurice did not scruple to raise the popular cry that there were two factions in Holland, for Orange or for Spain, though he must have known that there never had been a more steady foe of Spain than the old statesman. The public, however, preferred the general to the statesman, and bit by bit Maurice succeeded in exchanging Remonstrant magistrates for Counter-Remonstrant, or, as Barneveldt explained the matter to Sir Dudley Carleton, who had become ambassador from England, Puritan for double Puritan. At the Hague all the ministers of the Church were Arminian, and the Gomerists were wont to walk through the muddy roads seven miles to Ryswick, and come back so dirty that their opponents uncivilly called them mad beggars.

Maurice pledged his word to them to get them a church, and they obtained that called the Gasthaus, which had hitherto been used by the English embassy. Shortly after they tumultuously took possession of what was called the Cloister Church, belonging to an old convent which was used as a cannon foundry.

The significant point here was the absolute commencement of schism between the two parties. The next Sunday, the 17th of July, 1617, Uytenbogen preached against the assembly of a national synod, knowing well that it would only confirm and narrow the cruel doctrine. Maurice, who was bent on the synod, came out in a rage, and thenceforth attended the Cloister Church.

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CAMEO IX.
The Sharp Resolve.
1617.

Barneveldt on this moved the States-General to refuse their consent to the synod as inconsistent with their laws. This was carried by a majority, and was called the Sharp Resolve. Maurice was hotly enraged, and in view of the civil war there seemed reason to apprehend, Barneveldt and the States caused a fresh oath to be administered to the Waartgelders, after which he went to Utrecht.

The High Council by a majority of one set aside the Sharp Resolve, and decided for the synod. Barneveldt had a severe illness, during which Maurice's influence made progress, assisted by detestable accusations that the Advocate was in league with the Spaniards.

At last Maurice mastered Utrecht, hitherto the chief hold of Arminianism. He disbanded the Waartgelders, and when the States-General came together in the summer of 1618, he had all prepared for sweeping his adversaries from his path.

On the 29th of August, as Barneveldt was going to take his place at the States-General, he was told by a chamberlain that the Prince wished to speak with him, and in Maurice's ante-room was arrested by a lieutenant of the guard and locked up. In exactly the same manner was arrested his friend and supporter, Pensionary Rambolt Hoogenboets, who had protested against the decree by which the High Council reversed that of the States-General, and Hugo Van Groot or, as he called himself, Hugo Grotius, one of the greatest scholars who ever lived, especially in jurisprudence, and a strong adherent of the Advocate. He had much theological knowledge and had spent some time as ambassador in England, where he had imbibed the doctrines of the Church, as opposed to Calvinism. He was just half Barneveldt's age, seventy-two, being thirty-six. They were shut up in separate rooms, neither knowing what had befallen the other.

When the tidings were brought to the family, Barneveldt's son went to demand that his father might be released on bail, and the Prince replied by assuring him that "no harm shall come to your father any more than to myself."

A dead silence prevailed in the States-General when these arrests were announced. At last a deputy said, "You have taken from us our eye, our tongue, and our hand; henceforth we can only sit still and look on."

Eight members of the States-General had authorised the arrest, the others remained dumb and confounded; but the deputies of the individual state of Holland presently took courage to protest against the arrest, as having been made without their knowledge or sanction; but this was over-ruled in the name of the States-General by the Stadtholder; while the most outrageous accusations were circulated among the populace about the Advocate being sold to Spain, and having consented to bring back the horrors of the time of Alva.

Putting the matter in short, Maurice and Barneveldt were both great men who had worked together, one in the army, one in the cabinet, to deliver the United Provinces from Spain. The struggle was over,

CAMEO IX.
Synod of Dordrecht.
1619.

and Maurice demanded a dominion to which Barneveldt would not consent. The battle was fought politically, as the question between the power of the States-General or central government, and that of the individual power of each state separately—a conflict that always takes place sooner or later in every federal republic. Religiously, it was the struggle between Gomerist and Arminian, in which, Calvin's doctrine being the standard, the Gomerists were the more orthodox, but tried by the test of Catholic truth, the Arminians were the more correct as well as the more charitable.

Neither side had any notion of toleration. Whenever the Arminians had the upper hand, they were as severe and exclusive as the Gomerists, and Barneveldt himself considered it impossible that they should exist together amicably. He had however opposed the assembly of the National Synod because he knew it would over-ride the Arminians, and also because the synod claimed to control the faith of the States-General, while he held that the states should over-rule the synod, the lay element, the clerical.

The matter was complicated and intricate, and the Stadtholder had not scrupled to gain his point by unjust and unconstitutional means, although wielded with consummate ability and much command of temper.

The synod met at Dordrecht in January, 1619, and lasted till April. The Calvinists carried the day completely, and Arminians were declared heretics, schismatics, incapable of preaching, or of acting as professors or schoolmasters, unless they signed the Heidelberg Catechism and Netherland Confession, which laid down the hard-and-fast doctrine that predestination excluded all free will on man's part, but divided the human race into vessels of wrath and vessels of mercy, without power on their own part to reverse the doom.

Most English Puritans were Calvinists, and it was these who made the term Arminian a reproach and taunt to all of their countrymen who were content to believe that Divine Omniscience and human free will might be consistent; and that the how and why may be mysteries unfathomable here below. Thus it was that because Dutch Calvinists called their more moderate brethren heretical Arminians, English Puritans branded the truly Catholic of their own Church with the title, honestly viewing it as detracting from the honour of God to believe that He could be swayed by men's prayers or by their actions.

The trial of Barneveldt was going on at the same time with the Synod of Dordrecht after he had been many months in prison. Twenty-four commissioners were appointed, twelve from Holland, and two from each of the other states, and most of them were personal enemies of the prisoner. Before them he was examined day by day for three months, without any indictment; no witnesses, no counsel on either side; nor was he permitted pen and ink to prepare his defence, nor the use of his books and papers. He was only interrogated as to his doings through his whole public life, a period of forty years, in order to make out that he had been disloyal to the constitution of a

CAMEO IX.
Trial of Barneveldt.
1619.

state that had been in course of formation all the time, and was as yet scarcely defined. One absurd part of the charge was that he had written disrespectfully to James I., while there were monstrous questions asked him about Spanish money, truculent intentions as to punishments for seizing the Cloister Church, strange treasons attributed to the levy of the Waartgelders. Altogether, the principle of the interrogation of Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogenboets seems to have been, "Throw dirt enough, and some will be sure to stick."

Still, no great alarm was felt till a solemn fast day was announced for the 17th of April, because Church and State had been nearly destroyed by the machinations of certain wicked persons. The three prisoners fasted, and prayed in their separate chambers, and each, unknown to the other, sang the seventh Psalm, "Preserve me, O Lord, for in Thee have I put my trust." Some of the ministers would not attend to the proclamation, but many called on their congregations to give thanks for their deliverance from the blood bath that the traitors were said to be preparing for them.

The families of the sufferers were, however, so confident in their innocence, that it was like a thunder-clap when Maurice's cousin, Count William Louis of Nassau, sent for one of his old friends, the Fiscal Duyck, to consult with him whether there were any means of saving Barneveldt's life. Count William believed that submission and an acknowledgment of guilt was all that was required, and that if the family would sue for pardon for the Advocate as a criminal, it would be granted, but this acknowledgment was just what the high-spirited old man, who had ever acted from a strong sense of duty, was never likely to make. After three hours' consultation, Count William decided on going to Louise de Coligny, the widow of William the Silent, whom her stepson, Maurice, held in much esteem, and who greatly respected Barneveldt. He would induce her to send for the wife of the prisoner's eldest son, Madame van Groeneveld, and explain to her the full danger of the case, that she might then move the whole family to petition for the life of the Advocate.

The Princess of Orange gladly did her part, and Madame van Groeneveld more unwillingly undertook the mission, but after a time she came back to the Princess, and told her that the wife and son were determined not to move in the matter—no, not if it should cost the head of their father. For well they knew that he would far rather die than admit that his life had been otherwise than true and loyal, or accept a pardon when he was an innocent man. They had indeed presented appeals against the flagrant injustice of the so-called trial, but no notice was taken of these, and they could do no more without diminution of his honour.

The Princess Dowager and Count William were so much distressed at finding all their efforts vain, that they quitted the Hague. Maurice himself was grieved, for it was submission that he wanted, not life, and *he must have known how posterity would look on his judicial murder*;

CAMEO IX.

Condemnation of Barneveldt.

but the iron Dutch will would not yield on either side, and the prosecution once set on foot must needs work on to the bitter end.

Accordingly, all manner of petty infractions of the undefined constitution were rehearsed in the preamble of the sentence, and in consequence of them, the commissioners, in the name of the States-General, sentenced John of Old Barneveldt to be executed with the sword; and confiscated his property.

At half-past five in the afternoon of the 12th of May, the tidings were brought to him by two government officers and the Provost Marshal, that he must appear before the judges the next morning to receive the sentence of death, which would be at once carried out.

"The sentence of death! The sentence of death!" repeated the old statesman, in amazement. "I never expected that! I thought they were going to hear my defence again." And he spoke of his services.

The Provost Marshal said he was sorry his lordship took it ill of him.

"I do not take it ill of you," said Barneveldt, "but I know not how they (the judges) will answer it before God;" and turning to one of the other gentlemen, the son of an old friend, he said, "Oh, if your father could only have seen to what uses they would put you." He then wrote a letter to his wife, and, on this same personage cautioning him to take care what he said, he calmly asked, "Are you going to lay down the law to me what I may write to my wife?"

A clergyman named Antony Walsaers came to offer his ministrations, and supped with him and the Provost Marshal. Two more ministers also came, and two soldiers were stationed in the ante-room, an insult that annoyed the Advocate, though he continued as grave and self-possessed as ever. He did not fear death, he said, but as a lawyer he could not understand for what he was to die, that he had transgressed no law, and that the judges had no right to try him, but he committed himself to the judgment of the just God.

He undressed and went to bed, but could not sleep. Prayers and psalms were read to him, and this led to a good deal of theological conversation. He asked whether Grotius and Hoogenboets were likewise to die, but the clergymen only knew that they had not been sentenced. They were exceedingly struck with his perfect calmness, and his confession of entire faith. He was asked whether he wished to see his family, but he thought it better not to do so, not knowing how earnestly his two sons were entreating for permission.

The Dowager Princess, Louise de Coligny, made earnest endeavours to go to her stepson and intercede with him; but Maurice avoided seeing her. He treated the matter as a melancholy necessity, having perhaps persuaded himself that so it was, and he spent all that morning in his cabinet with his shutters closed.

Barneveldt took some food, dressed himself carefully, and read in his French Psalmbook till he was summoned into the great hall of judicature, where his judges were drawn up, and the sentence with its preamble was read aloud by the clerk. At the end, the prisoner said—

CAMEO IX.
Execution of Barneveldt.

"The judges have put down many things which they had no right to draw from my confession. Let this protest be entered. I thought too that my lords, the States-General, would have had enough in my life and blood, and that my wife and children might keep what belongs to them. Is this my recompense for forty-three years' service?"

There was no answer save that the President said, "Your sentence has been pronounced! Away—" pointing to one of the windows, which served for a doorway to the scaffold which projected into the Binnenhof, or principal square of the city, a place still showing that it had once been a park. It was crowded with an eager though stolid multitude, gazing at the scaffold, where a rough coffin was prepared, on which sat two soldiers playing at dice for the fate of the soul of the Advocate. Did any thought cross the mind of the prisoner of the strange likeness to another game of chance played by the guards of the Innocent?

Out came the old man, leaning on his staff. He was heard to say, raising his hand to Heaven, "O God! what does man come to?" and again, "This is the reward of forty years' service to the state."

The clergyman called on him to pray, and he asked for something to kneel upon, but nothing being at hand, he knelt down on the planks, his servant giving him his arm After a quarter of an hour's devotion, he rose, and with his servant's assistance took off his doublet, and then coming forward, said to the populace, "Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to my country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I die."

There was not a sound in answer. He took a silk cap from his servant and drew it over his eyes, saying, "Christ shall be my guide. O Lord, my Heavenly Father, receive my spirit."

He knelt down, but the executioner begged him to move to the other side, so that the full sunshine might not interfere with the aim. He complied, thus having his face towards his own house, took leave of his faithful servant, and said, "Be quick." The executioner took off his head with one sweep of the long two-handed sword, and many persons rushed forward to steep their handkerchiefs in the blood; or to cut splinters from the planks. His family were permitted to give him sepulture among themselves, and likewise to redeem the property for a nominal sum.

The French ambassador, who had striven with all his might to save Barneveldt, was complained of as having tried to interfere in the state affairs. It would be satisfactory if James I. had incurred the same censure, but he loved princes better than republicans, and had come to regard Barneveldt with disfavour.

The scaffold was left standing, and the sentence had been read aloud so that Grotius could hear it through the open window of his prison as he lay on his bed. Both he and Hoogenboets had been one with Barneveldt in opinions and actions, and they expected the same doom, while the same attempts were made to induce their families to imply

CAMEO IX.

Imprisonment of Grotius.

their guilt by suing for their pardon. They were comparatively young men, with all their lives before them, but the same dignified resistance was shown. Hoogenboets said that if his wife and family should ask pardon, he would protest against it, and Marie van Reigensbergen, the brave wife of Hugo van Groot, said, "If he has *deserved* it, let them strike off his head."

Grotius himself, however, faltered somewhat on his trial, offered confessions and explanations; but these amounted to nothing, as indeed he had no treason to confess, and would accuse no one. On the 18th of May, the two prisoners were brought down to the great hall, not in the least knowing whether they would not have to pass out through the fatal window into the Binnenhof; but at the close of their lengthy sentence, they found themselves condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the confiscation of all their goods.

The place was the strong fortress of Lowestein, situated at the confluence of the Meuse and the Waal, with the town of Gorcum facing it on the further side of the Waal, and Worcum opposite upon the Meuse. The place was inclosed within immense walls, ramparts, and moats, and the prisoners passed through thirteen locked doors before they reached their aparments, which were entirely separated from one another.

However, their wives were permitted to see them, to cook their meals in the castle kitchen, and to attend to their wants; but all their property being sequestrated, this was to be done out of an allowance of twenty-four stivers, or two shillings per day. Grotius had five little children, and had been a wealthy man, so that the pinching must have been severe. Madame van Groot had indeed lent out among friends considerable sums, from which they supplied her, but the governer, Deventer, a personal enemy of Grotius, was wont to inspect her purchases of provisions, and deprive her of what he held to be in excess of the pittance provided.

Grotius was shut up in two rooms, and allowed no out-door exercise. He was a very handsome man in the prime of life, and besides being a great scholar, a proficient in all manly exercises; and he could only keep himself in health by daily spending several hours in whipping an enormous top, which he had caused his wife to procure for him. The States betrayed how ashamed they were of their usage of him by forbidding his portrait to be sold, and destroying the copper plates of the engravings. He was, however, allowed to hold a literary correspondence with his learned friends, and to receive large chests of books from them. They sent him their scholarly treatises to look over, as in truth he was one of the most deeply learned men in Europe, and he himself began a work on the Jurisprudence of Holland, finding in such labours the exercise which his mind needed, as much as his limbs needed the gambols with the top. Nor did he ever complain, or condescend to make any kind of petition to the Government that so unjustly treated him. In the meantime poor Madame van Hoogenboets died, leaving six

CAMEO XI.
Escape of Grotius.
1621.

children, without being permitted to receive any care or kindness from her fellow-sufferer.

Thus two years had passed, when a scheme for her husband's deliverance suggested itself to Marie van Groot, as she looked at the large chest which had been sent by Professor Erpenius, full of books, and which was in the study. These boxes were always forwarded through a Gorcum merchant in thread and ribbons, named Daatselaer, who had married a sister of Erpenius, a great friend of the Vrow van Groot.

The house of the Daatselaers was Madame van Groot's house of call when she went on her shopping expeditions to Gorcum, and one day in March, 1621, she asked, as if in joke, whether her friends would be much disturbed if they found Herr van Groot in their house.

"Oh no," said the lady; "pray send him hither; we will take good care of him."

She durst say no more, except that even had he wings like a bird he could hardly get out of Lowestein. But she had her plans. The chest that conveyed the books was not quite four feet long, and neither broad nor deep, and Grotius was a very tall man. However, on trying the experiment, he found himself able to curl himself into it, and that even when it was shut he could breathe. It was fastened down on him for two whole hours, during which Marie sat on the top of it, watching the hour-glass; and as by that time he was alive and able to move, it was decided that the attempt was feasible. The box had gone backwards and forwards so often full of nothing but Greek, Latin, and Hebrew books, that the guards had ceased to inspect anything so uncongenial. But, as the lady could not herself inspect the exit of the precious chest, she took her maid, a girl of twenty, Elsje van Honwening, into her confidence, and asked whether she would watch over the conveyance of such a freight. The girl asked what would be the penalty if she were discovered.

"There is no legal penalty," said Grotius; "but I have not transgressed the laws, and you see what they have done to me."

Elsje, however, declared herself ready to run any risk for her master.

The Commandant Deventer was absent, and his wife had always been friendly, so Madame van Groot went to her and asked if the box of books might not be passed out the next morning on her authority. This request was granted, and the next morning, while a great storm was raging outside, Grotius and his wife prayed earnestly. Then, clad only in close-fitting linen clothes, with a pair of silk stockings, he got into the chest, a thick Greek Testament with some hanks of thread to support his head, and all the spaces stuffed with books or papers to prevent, as far as possible, his being shaken about and injured. Then his wife shut him in, locked the box, kissed the keyhole, gave the key to Elsje, disposed his clothes and slippers as if for him to get up, and then lying down in bed, drew the curtains and rang the bell.

A servant came, and she called out that she found it too wet for her

CAMEO IX.
Escape of Grotius.
1621.

to go to Gorcum, but that she should send Elsje, and she desired that some soldiers might be sent to carry down the chest to the ferry-boat.

They came, and on lifting it grumbled out that it was so heavy that the Arminian himself must be in it.

"Not the Arminian," called out the lady from the bed, "only heavy Arminian books." And away it went.

Four times on the way down the stairs and through the thirteen doors did the soldiers recur to the notion that the prisoner was in the chest, but Elsje was always ready with a jest. Even on the wharf a soldier's wife told a story of a criminal who had been carried out in a box. "And if a criminal why not a lawyer?" she said.

A soldier said he would get a gimblet and pierce a hole into the Arminian.

"Then it must be long enough to reach the top of the castle, where he lies asleep," answered the maid.

Madame Deventer was asked if she would inspect the chest, but hearing that her husband had left off doing so, she declined, and Elsje saw the box safely on board and lashed. She sat down by it, putting her white handkerchief on her head as a signal to her mistress, but she had to explain her proceeding by saying it was a token to a fellow servant who had dared her to cross the Waal in such weather. Then an officer sat down on the chest, and began drumming on it and kicking his heels against it, so that Elsje, dreading that this might kill her master outright, had to beg him to spare the valuable porcelain which she invented for the occasion.

She had to insist vehemently and pay ten stivers before she could get her charge taken out of the vessel, and driven in a hand-barrow through the midst of the fair. Some slight movement of the prisoner made the man who was driving it say—

"You have something alive there."

"Yes," said Elsje, "Arminian books are always full of life and spirit."

She got them through the crowd, and landed her chest at last in a back room, whence, after paying her bearers, she hurried to the shop and whispered to the mistress—

"I have got my master here in your back room."

The poor Vrow Daatselaer turned as white as a sheet, and commanded her limbs with difficulty as she tottered to the room, where Elsje knocked at the chest and called her master. There was no answer, and the two women both began to lament him as dead, but at that moment Grotius gave a hearty rap, and cried out "Open the chest."

Elsje unlocked it, and he struggled out in his white garments, like a corpse from a coffin. The good woman opened a trap-door, and took them to another chamber, where, as Grotius was faint and cramped, she gave him a glass of wine, and then hurried off, frightened but staunch, to tell her husband, and try to bring him to her unbidden guest.

CAMEO IX.

Escape of Grotius. 1621.

Daatselaer, however, would not come, saying that if he were examined it would be safer for all if he had never seen the fugitive and knew nothing about him. So his wife betook herself to her brother-in-law, Heer van den Veen, a clothier, and brought him back with her to Grotius, who was sitting very cold in his linen garments, for she had not recollected to bring him a cloak before rushing off. The clothier after a few words with him went in search of John Lamberten, an honest Lutheran mason, and told him that there was a good deed to be done and that he alone could do it, bidding him bring a working bricklayer's dress to Mynheer Daatselaer's.

The disguise was far too small and short for the stately figure of Grotius; and his delicate student-hands, and prison-bleached complexion were not very like those of a Dutch mason, but these were as far as possible disguised with mortar and dust, and with a hat slouched over his face he passed through the market behind Lamberten, who brought him to the ferry across the Merevede. There was much difficulty in getting taken across in the bad weather, but Lamberten protested that he had a large contract depending on his getting to Altona, and the clothier who had met them there also insisted, and thus at a high price obtained a passage. Van den Veen went back, but Lamberten saw Grotius to Waalwyk, where a waggon was hired for him to go on to Antwerp, the first place of safety for him. Lamberten had told the waggoner that he was a bankrupt fleeing from his creditors, and he showed himself so ignorant of the value of coin, and so much puzzled about small change, that the man declared that it was no wonder he was bankrupt!

At Antwerp Grotius was safe on the Spanish territory, and thence he wrote letters declaring his undying loyalty to the Dutch Republic, which he proved by not accepting the offices that the Archduke Albert would have given him, but repairing to Paris, where the Court had always been friendly to Barneveldt.

Meanwhile the governor had come back to Lowestein and went to see his prisoner. There he found the lady smiling. "Here is the cage," she said, "but your bird has flown!" After hotly abusing and threatening her, Deventer hurried off to Gorcum, and made the Daatselaers show him the box, where he only found the big Testament and the other stuffing. The brave lady was released at the end of a fortnight, and rejoined her husband, and the equally valiant Elsje married their faithful servant.

The Arminians were meantime severely persecuted, their ministers and professors were deprived, and those who demurred at the decisions of the Council of Dordrecht were fined and imprisoned. Certainly they were not burnt, but otherwise they might almost as well have lived under the Duke of Alva.

CAMEO X.

THE ARTICLES OF PERTH.

(1615—1618.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1599. Philip III.	1576. Rudolph II.	1605. Paul V.

The Scottish Church.

JAMES had promised, on leaving his native kingdom, that he would pay it a visit once in every three years, but he had hitherto found this impossible. The Scots were too poor to maintain his Court according to his present notions, and he had not a sufficient stock of ready money in hand to go on a progress at his own expense.

Still his presence was much wanted in Scotland. His Bishops were starving. The former Tulchan bishops had been fain to content themselves with what was left to them after they had been squeezed by the nobles; but the lords temporal had learnt to help themselves, and were by no means disposed to grant anything to the men whose episcopal rights they did not own, so that personal greed, national feeling, and schismatic prejudice were all enlisted on one side.

Even the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, had hardly wherewithal to live. In 1615, John Spottiswoode was translated from Glasgow to this see. In the days of robbery, a fund had been appropriated from the estates of this diocese to maintain the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, and James had directed that this should be restored; but the captain of the garrison refused to give up a certain revenue for that which would be uncertain—namely, the rent paid by the tenants on the royal estates, and the Council declared that the grant could only be revoked in Parliament. The King therefore could only give the charge on his rents, and this, in bad seasons, came to nothing.

Whenever, indeed, the King tried to endow the unfortunate Bishoprics out of the lands of the abbeys that had fallen to the share of the Crown, he was told that they were otherwise appropriated, and some he had put out of his own power, such as the great abbey of Aberbrothock, one of the richest in Scotland, which he had granted to the Marquess of

CAMEO X.

Impoverishment of Scottish Sees.

Hamilton, who refused to endow—not a Bishopric—but two poor little parishes out of it. Out of the see of Moray he had given large estates, including Spynie Castle, perched on an island in a loch, the residence of the Bishops, to his comrade, Alexander Lindsay, at the time of his voyage to Norway, when the idea of a princely episcopacy had never dawned on him.

Alexander called himself Lord Spynie, and was not very ready to surrender his spoils; however the new Bishop was himself a Lindsay, and the matter was compounded by a bond engaging that he should have due compensation. Soon after, Lord Spynie was slain while walking in the streets of Edinburgh with his cousin, the heir of the head of the house, commonly called the "Wicked Master of Crawford." This ferocious nobleman had slain another kinsman, Sir Walter Lindsay, whose nephews, meaning to take vengeance on the murderer, fell on the two gentlemen in the dark in the High Street of Edinburgh, and unfortunately mistook Lord Spynie for the "Wicked Master." The guardian of the orphan children gave the unfortunate Bishop much trouble about the bond, and the see lost the estate, though young Lord Spynie did not succeed in keeping it. The Bishop of Caithness was sorely distressed by the earl of that ilk; and the Bishop of the Isles, who was supposed to keep the King's peace, was actually expelled from Islay Castle by two robber chiefs, Angus and Ranald Oig; and the Bishop of Orkney, was in little better case, Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, being a regular sea-king, who had fortified the cathedral as well as the castle of Kirkwall.

Meantime, the missionary spirit which had been born of the counter Reformation, which was reconquering Styria and Hungary, winning back the French Huguenots, and sending Garnet, Greenway, and Campion to England, did not fail to work in Scotland. And there was much territory already Roman Catholic, for whole clans of Highlanders remained constant to the old faith, and so did many of the nobles and gentlemen, especially such as had gone to France for promotion, though since England had been thrown open to the Scots, this foreign influence had begun to decay.

The old national liturgy of Aberdeen was no longer used, but the Roman Missal and Breviary were adopted by Scottish Romanists, who could far more justly claim to be the righteous remnant than could their brethren in England. Their clergy were men of ability, and they met the Reformers on their own ground by putting forth Devotions and hymns in their native tongue. One of these hymns, by F. B. P., probably intended as an imitation or free translation from the rhythm of St. Bernard of Cluny, is to be found, much changed and abbreviated, in Hymns Ancient and Modern, as "Jerusalem, my happy home," altered from "My Mother dear, Jerusalem."

In 1615, a Jesuit, who seems to have been no traitor, was executed at Glasgow, only because, so far as appears, he declined to answer whether a King deposed by the Pope might be lawfully killed; but it was not

often that such an opportunity offered itself. In the mountains, the priests were as safe as in the streets of Rome, probably safer than any one else, for the kingdom was in a horrible state for the first few years after the departure of the Court, and according to the testimony of Lord Binning, the Calvinist clergy fared no better than others. "Ministers," he says, "being dirked in Stirling, buried quick in Liddesdale, and murdered in Galloway." The Highlanders made forays on the Lowland farmers; the Borderers ravaged up to the gates of Edinburgh; the lords and lairds were at deadly feud with one another, and carried on their fights in the streets of Edinburgh, or in the churchyards on Sunday; merchants were robbed and killed on the roads; lawyers carried off and imprisoned in lone castles; there was no safety anywhere.

However, the strength derived from England enabled James, through his Council, to repress the Border violences as they had never been repressed before. The fiercer spirits, when they found that their forays were requited with hanging, took service abroad, and though robbery lurked in lone districts, the chronic state of licensed outrage was at an end, and the better disposed became farmers and shepherds around the towers, where their lairds began to lead tolerably peaceable lives.

The Highlanders were far harder to deal with. Their country was far more impenetrable, and they themselves had no instincts for peace, but were almost incapable of trade or agriculture. The best of the clans were kept within bounds by making their chieftain a surety to the King for their good conduct; but there were tribes who had lost their hereditary leader, and these were called broken men, and were the most mischievous of all.

The worst were the Macgregors, whose home was round Loch Katrine, where they made what is now called Ellen's Isle the receptacle of the herds of cattle pillaged from the Lowlands. They were savage to the last degree. It was they who performed the horrible deed of setting the head of the murdered brother, with a crust in its mouth, on the sister's table. This was done at the time of the King's marriage, but the perpetrators were not seized and hung till the second year after James's accession to the throne of England. The King tried various means for bringing the Highlands into reasonable subjection. First, he required the landowners there and in the Isles to show up their titles to their lands, or to come to his chancery for fresh ones. Many of these old chiefs and their dependants had no notion of depending on "dirty sheepskins" for their lands, and neither had any parchments nor would come for them. Those who neglected to do this were declared to have forfeited their estates. The whole Isle of Lewis was thus claimed by the King, as well as much of the mainland, and grants were made to Lowlanders who were to settle and civilise the place; but as there had been no clearing off of the original owners, as had been the case with the plantations in Ireland, the new settlers had to be constantly at war, and most of them gave up their lands in despair.

Another plan of James's was to throw as much power as possible into

CAMEO X. — *James in Scotland.* 1617.

the hands of the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, the heads of the Campbells and Gordons, who were at once Highland chiefs and Lowland noblemen, and were to act as protectors to the southern districts. Their own force thus became formidable, but the protection was obtained. Most effective, however, were the requirements that each chieftain should present himself and a certain number of his clansmen before the Council once a year, that they were only to maintain a fixed number of gentlemen followers, were only to carry arms in the King's service, were to send their children to school, and build dwelling-houses with gardens, pleasure-grounds, or policiés as they were called in Scotland, and home farms, like those of the English squires and Lowland lairds. This was to a great measure carried out, and though more than a century was to elapse before the Highland cateran was entirely extirpated, and the wild habits of clanship were renewed in all times of disorder, the northern force was never so dangerous as before.

It was not till 1617 that James could attempt to pay his northern subjects a visit. They welcomed him with all the pageantry they could afford, and the Latin speeches of which they had a far greater profusion, but they were not delighted to see the chapel of Holyrood restored for the King's use; the carved work, which their fathers had so ruthlessly destroyed, set up again; the choir, attached to the King's service, brought from England; and matins and evensong devoutly chanted as at S. George's at Windsor and in the cathedrals.

James, to whom the change had been welcome, hoped that his subjects would, like himself, perceive the beauty of the ritual and take example, but the effect was quite otherwise. They thought the ceremonial almost Popish, and were scarcely inclined to tolerate it more than the masses for which they had so reviled Queen Mary, treating it as an insult that the King thus worshipped openly. Yet it would appear that their own prayers had little attraction for them, though composed by Calvin himself, for even the ladies did not frequent the service, but sent their maids with stools to keep a place for them, and only appeared when the sermon began. Dr. Laud, who accompanied the Court to Oxford, was extremely shocked at the bare squalidness and marks of ruin in the once beautiful buildings; and when he heard that the destruction had taken place at the Reformation, exclaimed, "Not the Reformation, but the Deformation."

James was anxious to improve the condition of things; but he had stubborn spirits to deal with, who were persuaded that every departure from bare Calvinism was a step back to Rome. He convoked the Estates, or Scottish Parliament, and by his personal exertions obtained the restoration of deans and chapters, who should go through the form of electing the Bishops nominated by the Crown. To obtain the restitution of their estates was quite a different matter; but James did succeed in appointing thirty-two commissioners, who managed to force the greedy lords and lairds to disgorge a pittance sufficient for a minister in the parishes which they had entirely robbed. The minister who was

"passing rich," had 800 merks a year, *i.e.* 44*l.*, the poorest, 27*l.*, and this "plantation of kirks," as it was termed, was successful. Each parish was already, by John Knox's arrangement, forced to have its schoolmaster, and education was more widely spread in Scotland than anywhere else.

James further required the Estates to pass an act that whatever the King decreed with the consent of the Bishops should have the force of an ecclesiastical law, but the Bishops persuaded him to make the consent of the presbytery also necessary. A protest was made against it, but ineffectually, and the King held arguments with some of the most distinguished ministers on the subject.

He was resolved on making another step towards bringing Scotland back to the Church; and five canons were prepared, which were propounded at a General Assembly held at Perth, and are commonly known as the Five Articles of Perth. They were introduced with a temperate and beautiful preamble, explaining the principles of order and of reverence, and they were as follows:—

1. That the Holy Communion should be received kneeling instead of sitting.

2. That, when a sick person desired to communicate, the Holy Sacrament should be administered to him in his own house.

3. That in cases of necessity, infants should be privately baptised.

4. That the days of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord, and of the Coming of the Holy Ghost, should be publicly solemnised in the churches.

5. That children should, at a fit age, be confirmed by the Bishop.

These enactments seem to us to be absolute primary necessities to a church; but to the Calvinist's mind, reverent kneeling was associated with idolatrous worship, and private Communions with the bearing forth of the Host. The Scottish Calvinists had rejected Confirmation, though their brethren on the Continent retained some such rite, and at this period they considered that the congregation was bound to witness a baptism, although in after times almost all their baptisms, as well as their marriages, came to be privately administered. However, the Articles were passed by eighty-six votes to forty-one, the Bishops and other officials having great influence, but the malcontents were many; they considered that the assembly had been packed; and that a tremendous thunderstorm which took place just as the acts were being touched with the sceptre to give them royal authority, was a token of the displeasure of Heaven at what was imagined to be a relapse into Popery.

James did his utmost by precept and example to enforce compliance with these rules. He examined all his Scottish courtiers who omitted to appear in church on the causes of their absence, and took much pleasure in driving them out of their false excuses; but they were firmly persuaded that "Yule," as they called Christmas, was a heathen and superstitious festivity, and stuck fast to "Hogmanay," or New Year's Day, for their wholly secular festivities.

CAMEO X

The Sabbath Controversy. 1617.

Another assembly was held at Perth, where by the vehement and steady exertions of Archbishop Spottiswoode the Articles were confirmed, but in vain. Only the Bishops and a few more loyal ministers attended to them, and the nobility, as well as the city magistrates absolutely refused to enforce their observance. Perhaps, if James himself had been a man more consistent, devout, and serious in demeanour, and less addicted to foul language and frivolous sport, his people's prejudices might have been overcome; he might have led them in the right way, instead of ineffectually driving them; and his son and his kingdoms might have been spared an infinity of error and misery.

Another point taken up by James, as he returned from Scotland, was the observance of the Sunday. The insular Calvinists had notions absolutely peculiar to themselves on that head, and enforced the full Jewish observance of the Sabbath upon the Sunday, in a manner never enjoined by their master, Calvin himself, and not carried out in Holland, Switzerland, France, or Germany. The abolition of all the less sacred holidays tended to make the whole life of the artisan or peasant one of severe, unbroken toil, save for the long religious exercises of the Sunday unenlivened by recreation.

In England the anti-Puritan party had always striven to keep up the old traditional observance of Sunday, which gave the hours after Divine service to amusements, such as dancing on the green and practising archery. No doubt there was much that was rude, boisterous, and mischievous in these games; and there was good gained by the soberness and calm brought in with the English Sunday; but the reaction was violent and bitter; and as James travelled through Lancashire on his way home, petitions were presented to him, alleging that the poor man's life was deprived of all cheerfulness, and that there was no opportunity for healthful, active sports to keep up the manliness and courage of the nation.

James showed himself inclined to think the petitioners in the right, whereupon the next Sunday the more riotous took the opportunity of having a revel, which they began so early and indecorously as to disturb the congregation in church with the sounds of their pipe and tabor.

The King was greatly displeased, and desired the Bishop of the diocese to censure the rioters. Only the ringleader was actually laid under censure; but a fresh appeal was made to the King against the strictness that, according to the petitioners, made Sunday a day of gloom, bearing hardly upon the poor.

On this James held a consultation with Bishop Morton, and seven restrictions were drawn up, within which every one might enjoy liberty to do as he pleased on Sunday, some of these being that Divine service should be neglected by no one, that no public sports should be carried on during church time, and that no one should share in them who had been absent from church, with other rules tending to secure good order and propriety.

CAMEO X.

The Book of Sports. 1618.

These enactments were at first intended only for Lancashire; but in May, 1618, James put forth a declaration for the benefit of the whole kingdom, explaining his views, that men would become unmanly, and ale-houses be filled if out-door games were not permitted in the spare hours on Sunday. Therefore he gave a list of permissible recreations, including May games round the Maypole, Whitsun ales and morris dances, shooting at the butts, music, and the like; but not bear and bull baiting, nor playing at bowls. Unfortunately the prohibition was not from humanity to bulls or bears, but because the sport was disorderly; and moreover, like that of bowls, it was a privilege of the higher orders. This declaration, called the King's *Book of Sports*, James ordered to be read in all the churches.

It gave great offence to many. Archbishop Abbot would not have it read in his own chapel at Croydon, and to the Puritans in general the *Book of Sports* appeared a decree to break a divine commandment, and a license to all the amusements which they barely tolerated on week-days, but viewed as rank wickedness on the Sabbath.

The question has been ever since more or less in debate, and the practical result has been the calm restfulness of the English Sunday, greatly beloved by all religious minds, though there are some whom it strikes as dull, and who feel as if the yoke on the ruder and more frivolous spirits was over heavy. Yet even though they may fret, the peace, the restraint, and the obedience produce effects that would be ill bartered for greater present liveliness and enjoyment.

The last of the whole race of Elizabethan Puritans, who united the stern doctrines most opposed to Rome with the graces of courtiers, passed away in the saddest manner possible in this year 1618. Sir Walter Raleigh had occupied himself during the earlier years of his imprisonment with writing treatises on the political events of the day, always with the Elizabethan policy of resistance to the encroachments of Spain. Also he undertook a history of the world, a grand specimen of stately language and deep thought, but only coming down to B.C. 170.

So far had it been finished, when Sir Ralph Winwood, James's chief secretary, who had often discussed Raleigh's schemes for conquests and settlements in South America, and who thoroughly hated Spain, talked the King over into permitting an expedition to Guiana. Raleigh was persuaded that a gold mine existed in that country. No idea could be more welcome to James, or to his new favourite Sir George Villiers; and in 1613, after twelve years' imprisonment, Sir Walter was released, not pardoned for his supposed share in the Cobham plot, but commissioned to go on the voyage, with strict injunctions to take no territory belonging to a Christian prince, to meddle with no Spanish subject, nor in any way break the peace with Spain.

No doubt he took these injunctions as merely like the formalities with which Elizabeth sent her sailors to the West. He knew well that

CAMEO X. — *Raleigh's Voyage.* 1617.

"nothing succeeds like success," and he even said something to Bacon about making a prize of the Mexican fleet.

"That would be piracy," said Bacon.

"Did you ever hear of a pirate who took millions?" said Raleigh. "Men are pirates only for small things."

He was sixty-three years old, and he staked his all upon this one cast—the 8,000*l.* that he obtained from the King as part compensation for Sherborne, and, what was far more, his eldest son, a high-spirited young man of four-and-twenty. His fleet consisted of twelve ships, a caravel, and two fly-boats. The largest ship, the *Destiny*, was built on purpose, and was greatly admired. His friend Keymis, who had been with him before, and believed himself to know where to find the gold mine, was in command of one of the ships. Seven sailed with Sir Walter from the Thames, the other five he took up at Plymouth, setting forth in the May of 1617.

His rules of order and discipline were excellent, and seemed to have been well carried out, but the voyage was unprosperous from the first. The weather was stormy, and there was much sickness among the crews. One vessel was lost, two were compelled to put back, and one deserted. Sir Walter was in bed with fever himself when the mouth of the River Cayana was attained. He was carried on shore, and there began to recover, and he found himself greeted affectionately by the Indians who had known him in his first expedition, and had long hoped for his coming to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards.

The mine was believed to be on the banks of the Orinoco, but Sir Walter could not himself go in search of it. He was not sufficiently recovered, and his presence was necessary to protect the fleet. He therefore sent Keymis in command; but this person, though brave, faithful, and attached, had none of the qualities of a leader, and was entirely unfit to manage the "scum," as Raleigh justly called the adventurers who were sure to make up the main body of such expeditions—buccaneers, men afraid of a prison or thirsting for plunder, and deeming Spaniards their natural prey.

His nephew, George Raleigh, commanded the land forces, and young Walter also went on the enterprise, while he himself cruised about Trinidad, scrupulously keeping the peace. He kept a diary of observations on the flowers and birds up to the 15th of February, 1618, when it suddenly ends, no doubt under the weight of the terrible blow that fell on him.

Keymis had ascended the River Orinoco successfully till he came, to his surprise, on the new Spanish settlement named San Tomas, consisting of a church, two convents, and about 140 houses, or rather bamboo huts. With fatal folly, Keymis landed his men, and was at once attacked by the Spaniards. There was a sharp fight, and the Spaniards resisted bravely, but they were very inferior in numbers, and were finally driven out, and forced to flee into the forest. The English had five men slain, and among them young Walter Raleigh. "Go on," were his last

CAMEO X.

Return of Raleigh. 1618.

words; "may the Lord have mercy on me, and prosper your enterprise."

His comrades buried him and the others in the church, and then started with two boats to go up the river in search of the mine; but the Spaniards were on the watch, attacked him, and killed nine men. He went back to San Tomas, and George Raleigh made another expedition up the river, but saw no gold, and finally the baffled and discontented party returned. Sir Walter, sore-hearted and in great grief, showed himself very angry at Keymis's mismanagement, which, as he truly said, had undone him. He would not even look at a letter of excuse that Keymis had written, and the unhappy man, in despair, committed suicide.

Affairs were desperate with Sir Walter now. He tried to persuade his men to go with him again in search of the mine, or even to wait for the Mexican fleet, but he failed to get any one to follow him, and his letters were piteous. He wrote to Winwood that this had been the greatest and sharpest misfortune that had ever befallen any man, and to his wife that he "never knew what sorrow meant till now."

He reached Plymouth in the *Destiny*, no other ship with him, on the 21st of June, 1618, and there his wife met him. They had just set out on their journey to London, when Sir Lewis Stukeley met them with orders to arrest Sir Walter and take him back to Plymouth. He had nearly escaped there, but at the last moment decided otherwise, because he had promised the friends who had interceded for him that he would come back. Of these, the most effective, Sir Ralph Winwood, was recently dead, and there was no one to counteract the complaints of the Spanish ambassador, Surimento, who hotly denounced the sack of San Tomas, and called for punishment on the perpetrators. James, who was flattered by Spanish attention and had never loved Raleigh, had little sense of shame or justice to make him save Elizabeth's grand old courtier.

Raleigh was sent for to London. He was very anxious for delay, and tried to obtain it by getting a French physician, who was in their company, to assist him in feigning a sharp attack of illness at Salisbury, during which he wrote his defence. The King, who was on progress, spent a day at Salisbury, but would not see him, and he had to proceed on his sad journey. Another plan of escape was set on foot, but was baffled by Stukeley, who pretended to be in his interest, fathomed all his secrets, and then betrayed them. The name of Sir Judas, which stuck to Stukeley ever after, was his reward, as well as all Raleigh's jewels, including a diamond ring given him by Queen Elizabeth, also a payment of 965*l.*

Six commissioners, including Archbishop Abbot, with Bacon and Coke, were charged to inquire into his conduct on the expedition. The result was that they represented that Raleigh, having been sentenced to death once and never pardoned, was actually dead in the sight of the law, and therefore could not be put on his trial. They therefore

CAMEO X.
Trial of Raleigh.
1618.

advised that he should be summoned before the whole Council of State, and numbers of the nobility, gentry, and judges, and his crimes of piracy and plunder on his expedition declared, after which the King might take the advice of the Council.

James would not do this, remembering, as he said, how the prisoner's wit and skill at Winchester had turned men's minds in his favour. He had made up his mind to propitiate Spain with the destruction of her most gallant enemy, and he even offered to give up Sir Walter alive into her hands to be dealt with after the pleasure of Phillip III.; but this offer was declined, provided the English would themselves put the terrible "Gaulteral" to death. So James resolved that he should die by the old sentence pronounced on him for his supposed share in the Cobham conspiracy, fourteen years ago; and that afterwards an explanation of his misdemeanours should be put forth. Perhaps he thought that Englishmen would hardly be much impressed by the damage done to Spaniards in America, especially in Guiana, which had in 1595 been claimed as an English possession.

So pleaded Raleigh himself in a letter to his cousin, Lord Carew. He also wrote to the favourite, Villiers, now Marquess of Buckingham, entreating his intercession, and likewise an address in verse to the Queen, who, he hoped, might not forget her son's high opinion of him.

"Who should have mercy if a Queen has none?" he asks. And he concludes—

> "Save him who would have died in your defence;
> Save him whose thoughts no treason ever tainted."

Anne of Denmark was then languishing at Hampton Court, in what proved to be her last illness, but she did her best to respond to the piteous appeal. She only saw the King occasionally, for he was laid up with gout in his knees, and was in a very bad temper; but a letter, in her own remarkably beautiful handwriting, was sent from her to Buckingham, entreating him to take up the cause.

She calls him by a playful name that had been bestowed one day when the Court was diverted by the sight of an old sow, which an intelligent dog was steering along by tugging at her ear whenever she attempted to deviate from her proper path. The Queen declared that it put her in mind of the continual hints and admonitions that her husband received from Buckingham, and a family proverb arose, by which all reminders to the King were called "lugging the sow by the ear," and he contentedly submitted to the swinish appellation in sport from his wife, son, and favourite, while Buckingham alternated between Steenie and the good dog

On this occasion Anne wrote—

"MY KIND DOG,—If I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the King that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that your success may answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kind at your hands, and rest one that wisheth you well and desires you to continue still (as you have been) a true servant to your master.

"ANNA R."

CAMEO X.

Condemnation of Raleigh. 1618.

It was all in vain. The new courtier had no heart for the old courtier, who, if he had been a brillant flutterer in Elizabeth's favour, was also a great soldier, sailor, scholar, and colonist, a poet and historian, far outweighing the frivolous and empty Villiers, who only saw in him the battered, unsuccessful adventurer, for whom, in the pride of life and vainglory, there was no place for pity.

On the 28th of October, Raleigh was summoned to Westminster. He knew it would be to hear his doom, and when his old servant reminded him that his hair was in disorder, he answered, "Let them comb it that are to have it." How changed from his days of splendid foppery! But he added, with a smile, "Dost thou know, Peter, of any plaster that will set a man's head on again when it is off?"

Still he defended himself ably before the members of the Council, arguing that the commission he had received from the Crown was equivalent to a pardon, so that he could not justly be executed on the previous sentence, and explaining his whole conduct on the unfortunate expedition; but he was only told that the sentence must be carried out, and that he was to die the next morning. He was not taken back to the Tower, but to the gatehouse of the Palace Yard. On the way he met an old friend, to whom he said—

"You will come to-morrow morning. I do not know what you may do for a place. For my own part I am sure of one. You must make what shift you can."

Now that the uncertainty was over, he was thoroughly brave and cheerful, making jests with the many friends who came to take leave of him, so that he was told by one that his levity might be blamed by his enemies.

"It is my last mirth in this world," he answered. "Do not grudge it me. When I come to the last sad parting, you shall find me grave enough."

He probably meant the parting with his wife, who came to him in the evening and stayed till midnight. He told her she must vindicate his name, if he were hindered from making a speech on the scaffold; and when she said that his remains were to be given to her, he answered, "It is well, dear Bess, that thou mayest dispose of that dead which thou hadst not always the disposing of alive."

He durst not talk of his only remaining son, Carew, who was then a mere lad; but after he had taken leave of his wife, he wrote a short will, and also some lines in the blank leaf of his Bible—

> "When such is Time, that takes on trust
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
> And pays us but with earth and dust,
> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days—
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust
> My God shall raise me up, I trust."

In the early morning he received the Holy Communion, then break-

CAMEO X.

Execution of Raleigh. 1618.

fasted, and was very cheerful. It was Lord Mayor's day, that having been chosen for the sake of the counter-attraction; but the crowd in the yard was so great that Sir Walter, the two sheriffs, and the chaplain could hardly struggle through it, and he was quite breathless when he reached the scaffold. Perceiving an old, bald-headed man, who had made great efforts to get to him, he asked if it were to say anything to him. "Only to pray for him," was the answer. Sir Walter thanked him, and taking off his own laced nightcap put it on the bare head.

Seeing the Earls of Arundel and Oxford at a window, he called to them that he feared he could not speak loud enough for them to hear, on which they came down and mounted the scaffold. He made a vindication again of his conduct, and finally begged that no one would believe a charge that had made his heart bleed, namely that he had persecuted Essex, and had watched his execution with disdain, puffing out tobacco.

Lastly, he called on all to pray for him as a sinner, "a seafaring man, a soldier, and a courtier. The least of these were able to overthrow a good mind and a good man." The executioner knelt to ask his pardon, which he granted, putting his hands on the man's shoulders, and feeling the edge of the axe, said, "This gives me no fear, it is the sharp pencil to cure me of all my distempers."

He took leave of the bystanders, asked the crowd for their prayers, and then placed himself with his neck on the block, holding out his hands as a signal for the blow. It was delayed, and he called, "Strike, man, strike!" His lips moved in prayer, and after more than one blow, the wise and thoughtful head was severed.

"We have not such another to be cut off!" cried a voice in the crowd, as it was held up.

The head was treasured by the devoted wife till her death, the body buried in the Church of S. Margaret at Westminster, while public opinion veered round, and Raleigh, who had been hated as a new man, full of haughtiness and satire, was now mourned as one of the heroes of Elizabeth's reign, the victim of the policy which veiled England's once proud crest to Spanish domination.

That winter came in sadly. The Queen was sinking fast, and James had a sharp illness at Royston, from which he was in great danger. He was in bed there, unable to move when she died at Hampton Court, in February, 1619, with her hand on the head of her son Charles, and Archbishop Abbot praying beside her.

CAMEO XI.

THE ULSTER SETTLEMENT.

(1603—1620.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1600. Philip III.	1612. Matthias.	1605. Paul V.

AT the time of Elizabeth's death, peace had been made in Ireland, and the Earl of Tyrone, the great Hugh O'Neill, had submitted and made peace. The Irish Romanists were full of hope. They considered the Scottish kings as descendants of the race of Finn, which had migrated to Caledonia and overcome the Picts, and they were thus more disposed to regard the Stewarts as their rightful kings than any English sovereign before them.

Moreover they, like their English brethren, thought of Queen Mary, and hoped for favour; but they did not take the means to obtain it. They had despatched a deputation to the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, to ask whether an Irish Catholic was bound to obey and assist his Protestant sovereign. Of course, the Spaniards were only too glad to reply that it was as meritorious to aid the Earl of Tyrone as to fight against the Turks, and that it was a mortal sin to aid the English against him, meriting the denial of absolution.

Thus incited, though Tyrone was no longer in arms, when Elizabeth's death was known and the Lord Deputy Mountjoy issued orders for the proclamation of James, the mayor and citizens of Cork shut their gates, and refused to admit the messengers. They then made solemn processions round the city, bearing emblems of their faith; they turned out the clergy from the churches, erased the texts of Scripture on the walls, painting figures of saints over them, reconsecrated the buildings, reinstated the monks and nuns in the convents, and at a mass celebrated for the purpose they communicated, swearing to spend their lives for their Church. They disarmed the few Protestants, and fired off guns at the palace, where the Bishop was in a state of siege, and one of his clergy was killed.

CAMEO XI.
Rising against Protestants.

At Waterford the people rose on the recorder as he was proclaiming King James, and pulled him down from the steps of the City Cross. A Dominican friar preached in S. Patrick's Church, declaring that Jezebel was dead; and the same scenes were enacted at Limerick, Kilkenny, Wexford, and Clonmel. At Cashel, it was said that a priest bound a Protestant goldsmith to a tree, threatening to burn him and his heretical books. Faggots were heaped about him, and some of his books were actually burnt, but after six hours' terror he seems to have been released.

Mountjoy marched into the rebellious province, where the people of Waterford sent out two Dominican friars, bearing a cross, to argue that they could not commit the crime of proclaiming an enemy to the faith; also some citizens with a charter of King John, excusing the city from having soldiers quartered on them. Mountjoy is said to have detected them in a misquotation from S. Augustine upon obedience to princes; and as to the secular objection, he declared that unless the gates were opened he should cut asunder King John's charter with King James's sword. However, the place yielded at once, and every one took the oath of allegiance. The other places all submitted, and only a few ringleaders at Cork were executed.

Mountjoy then returned to Dublin, where he published an act of amnesty for all offences committed before the King's accession, and restored all persons not under attainder to their estates. Then, appointing Sir George Carew his deputy, he returned to England, taking with him Hugh O'Neill and his son-in-law Roderick O'Donnell. They were kindly received at Court, where, as usual, O'Neill's manners made a most favourable impression. James restored him to his earldom of Tyrone, and revived the title of Tyrconnel for his companion. They petitioned for toleration for their religion, but James was afraid of granting more, and only undertook not to put the penal acts into operation while their good behaviour lasted.

Sir Arthur Chichester became deputy in 1604. He was one of the hard-headed Puritan statesmen of the day—consistent and upright according to his lights, though these did not go far enough to enable him to have any feeling for Romanists or Irishmen—a man of method and ability; and set himself to the task of modelling all Ireland after English fashions. He abolished the two peculiar institutions of tanistry and gavelkind, by which each family or clan had its chief, chosen from among its own members, and held its land collectively, not individually, so that whenever there was a death, all the portions changed hands, and the ground was inalienable and could not be disposed of to an outsider without the general consent. Instead of this, each landowner had his own property to himself, and they were expected much to prefer the arrangement, while to replace the chiefs, justices of the peace were made, the provinces were portioned into counties, whose chief towns were to be provided with court-houses and gaols, and the circuits of judges, quarter and petty sessions, were arranged. Moreover, as in

Scotland, all the nobles were called on to show their grants and patents or receive fresh ones from his Majesty. Of course there was much discontent, showing itself in many ways.

Hitherto the Irish had attended the churches, though trusting to private masses, and were called Church Papists; but they now broke off the habit, resumed some of the parish churches and monasteries in the districts where they were strongest, and built others, giving thus no small provocation to Sir Arthur Chichester.

He summoned before him the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, who pleaded some discrepancy between their copy of the Act of Uniformity and the King's proclamation enjoining all men to attend their parish churches. Chichester republished it, and as this had no effect, committed nine of the aldermen to the Castle, and fined six of them a hundred pounds each and three of them fifty. This money was allotted to Church and charitable purposes at Dublin. Still, as long as there was some sort of attendance at church, the Roman Catholic ritual was not interfered with, and the Irish openly declared that the King was of their own religion.

The Gunpowder Plot and its consequences, however, dispelled this delusion, and exasperated both parties. Chichester had already ordered all Popish clergy out of Ireland, but of course they did not go; and a Papal letter arrived in the December of 1605, declaring that presence at the services of the English Church was no better than sacrificing to idols, and promising them the assistance of Romans, Spaniards, and Germans the next autumn, and store of arms, if they would rise against the heretics.

The Roman Vicar-general, Robert Lalor, was apprehended in 1606, and was sentenced to death, but never executed. The hardship of denying all exercise of the Roman Catholic ritual to the people was the greater that, except in the larger towns, there was no English service to go to. In the summer of this year, the Lord Deputy made a progress through the new counties of Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, to establish his new English system; and the report of his Attorney-general, Sir John Davies, who accompanied him, is extant as a letter to Lord Salisbury. The Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland accompanied the Deputy, with a guard of about a hundred and twenty foot soldiers and sixty horse. They sometimes slept in tents, but at other places were well entertained by the gentry; and at the chief cities the judges tried the prisoners in the gaols, after which there was an inquiry into the state of the Church.

Almost all the churches were "utterly waste," "lying in their ruins," and though the King was patron, the incumbents were Romish priests instituted by Bishops appointed from Rome. The see of Clogher was united with Derry and Raphoe, and the Bishop was a Scotsman, named George Montgomery, and Dean of Norwich, which place he had never quitted, though for two years he had enjoyed the title of Bishop of these three sees! "His absence," says the Attorney-

CAMEO XI.

Survey of the Irish Church.

general, "is the chief cause that no course hath been taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity, and therefore *majus peccatum est.*" After leaving Monaghan the party encamped for the night in the ruins of the abbey of Clunes, and rode on across bogs to hold their sessions in another ruined abbey close to Fermanagh.

Here, again, everything was in ruins. Churches and schools waiting for the arrival of the Bishop of Clogher, and the building of a gaol and session-house for the choice of a site by the Lord Deputy, "of a fit place for a market and corporate town, for the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this country." In fact, the commission generally camped out as in a desert, and seldom found any roads.

They now passed into the diocese of Kilmore, to which, jointly with that of Ardagh, after a vacancy of fourteen years, Bishop Robert Draper had been appointed, because he was recommended to the King as conversant with the Irish language. The rectory of Trim, worth 400*l.* a year, had been added because the bishoprics were so meagrely endowed. Draper, however, does not seem to have used his knowledge of Erse to any good purpose, for Sir John declares him to be only "diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb which is common in the mouth of one of our great Bishops here, 'that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow.'" Yet "ten vicarages united" would, the Attorney-general adds, "scarce suffice to maintain an honest minister. For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as were presented to be in reparation are covered only with thatch. For the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, did appear to be such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures (for we saw many of them in the camp), as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth above 40*s.* per annum." No wonder the mission clergy of Rome made progress against such ministers as these!

In 1607 an anonymous letter was picked up on the floor of the Council Chamber at Dublin, darkly hinting at a plot of the Irish Popish lords to overthrow the State. It was very like an attempt to imitate Tresham's letter to Monteagle, but it caused much consternation; and James further received information from one of the spies whom each government maintained at foreign courts, that Tyrone was in communication with the Archduke at Brussels.

There was no chance of seizing his person in his own wild country, so, in order to bring him to England, a claim was set up by some tool of government to part of his lands. The cause was pronounced by the Irish courts to be so important that it must be argued in England, and Chichester told the Earl that his presence was necessary. Tyrone guessed that this was a snare, and said that he must delay thirty days to collect money and make preparations for his visit to Court. But before the end of the month he had embarked, with his wife and his two younger sons, and likewise Lords Tyrconnel and Dungannon, in a

vessel from Dunkirk, and safely reached Quillebecque in Normandy, whence they repaired to Brussels.

James on hearing of their flight put forth a manifesto, declaring them vile persons, ennobled but ungratefully repaying him by rebellion, and meriting no shelter from other princes; but this was unheeded. The younger men entered the Spanish army in the Netherlands, and Tyrone, proceeding to Rome, was there pensioned by the Pope and King of Spain.

The escape of these gentlemen was taken as conclusive evidence of rebellion; and there were several executions in Ulster. Tyrone's eldest son, with Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, and the head of the Nugents, Lord Delvin, were apprehended and lodged in the castle at Dublin. Delvin had been born in the Tower of London while his father was imprisoned on suspicion, and he was now tried and sentenced to death; but on the morning appointed for his execution, he was found to have escaped. He had let himself down from the window with a cord, found a horse waiting for him, and reached the castle of Clochnacter. Lurking in numerous disguises, he made his way to London, and presented himself before James with a petition, setting forth the ills that he and his father had suffered. The King was touched, forgave him, and made him Earl of Westmeath, thus gaining a loyal subject. The others seem to have been released.

Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, Lord of Innishowen, had once received a blow from Sir George Paulet, the governor of Derry, and had sworn that the insult should be washed out in blood. He was said to be one of the handsomest men of his time, a man to be marked among a thousand, and he had the cunning as well as the fury of the savage. During a marriage feast, in 1605, he surprised Derry, while the governor and his friends were banqueting. Paulet and five more were killed on the spot; and Hart, the governor of the fortress of Culmore, or Kilmore, was made prisoner. It is said that all the other Protestants in the town were murdered, except the Bishop's wife and children, who were kept for ransom. Kilmore was a very strong fortress between a lake and a bog, and communicating with the sea, it was well garrisoned and provided with stores, and could hardly have been taken; but the insurgent leader desired to speak with the lady left in charge, and bade her choose between surrender and the immediate death of her husband. Poor Mrs. Hart yielded, and O'Dogherty found in the place eight cannon and a considerable store of artillery and ammunition, besides two thousand books, all of which he took to be heretical, and burnt, refusing 100*l.* for the redemption. This exploit alarmed the government all the more, because it was in accordance with some letters from Irish priests which had been intercepted, recommending the seizure of some stronghold, where succours from Spain could be received. Lords Danvers and Clanricarde were instantly sent off with a thousand men, and more following, to reduce the fortresses of Derry and Kilmore; but the two first attacks were repulsed, and there

CAMEO XI.
Creation of Baronets.
1620.

was a heavy loss. Tyrone wrote to O'Dogherty that if they could hold out till September, he himself would bring troops to support them; but Irish valour could not endure to be cooped up in walls, and when Wingfield, the marshal of the camp, advanced with an army chiefly of Irish Roman Catholics, Sir Cahir and his men threw the four largest cannon into the lake, and took to the mountains and bogs, where for two months more his Spanish hat and heron plume served as a rallying point to his men, but at length he was struck with English bullets, as he exposed himself imprudently, and with his death the insurrection came to an end.

Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and his friends had been outlawed, and the O'Dogherty estates were also forfeited, and thus 818,344 acres of land, comprising the six northern counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnel, were all escheated to the crown.

The King considered himself to be doing an excellent and statesmanlike deed in forming what was called a plantation, a colony of loyal English and Scots, in these districts. He knew that Queen Elizabeth's attempt of this kind had failed, and he consulted Chichester on the cause. Sir Arthur held that Queen Elizabeth's grants had been much too large, that her rules had not been stringent enough, and that her settlers had made mere slaves of the Irish, exasperating them and leaving them to take revenge.

By his advice, then, the lands were divided into lots of 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000 acres, according to the capacity of the undertaker. A mark was to be paid to the crown for every sixty acres, and no one was to be allowed to obtain any of these grants without taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. They were to build good English houses, cultivate the ground in English fashion, and were bound not to sublet any ground to any "mere Irishman," nor to any one else without exacting the oaths. The plan was that the most trustworthy military colonists should have the fastnessess, the lesser lots being in the open country. As to the natives, they might work as labourers, but not hold land, and vain hopes were entertained of their thus becoming civilised; nor was their passionate and enduring attachment to the land guessed at. A force of soldiers was thought needful to protect the settlers, and to support this, Sir Antony Shirley suggested to the King a notable device, namely, to create a new title of honour, that of knight baronets, who were to be two hundred in number, intermediate between knights and barons, and let their rank descend to heirs male. For the patent they paid 1,095*l.*, and they were marked by bearing on their shields a scutcheon with the red hand of Ulster, borne, it was said, in memory of the first O'Neill, who, when about to land there, cut off his right hand, and threw it before him that his fingers might be the first to touch Irish soil. The courtiers managed to devour all the sums paid for the patents, so that none reached Ireland

The city of London obtained very large grants about Derry, which

CAMEO XI.
Londonderry.
1612.

from that time was called Londonderry. Their estates were excellently managed, and the rules strictly observed, and thus that district has always been comparatively loyal, orderly, and industrious; but for the most part the agents employed by the King took little pains to carry out his instructions, and admitted native chiefs, without restriction, for a bribe; while the colonists, either from humanity or want of power, did not always expel their Irish under-tenants, and a large portion of mountain and bog was never divided, and still served as a refuge to the ill-affected; but enough was carried out to introduce a new and much more peaceful and loyal element. The King did likewise what he could for the Church, by strict injunctions for the repair of the buildings, by assigning good glebes to all the parsonages, insisting on tithes and dues being paid, calling on every incumbent to preach and catechise, and establishing free schools in the towns, in hopes of training up an improved ministry.

Chichester, who had been created a baron, received as a further reward Innishowen and the greater part of the O'Dogherty estates, and to sanction these proceedings, he resolved to summon a parliament at Dublin, the first Irish parliament that had sat for twenty-seven years; but as it was very important that he should command a majority, he took care that writs should be issued not only to the seventeen new counties that had been formed by his pacification, but to forty new boroughs, some of them consisting of nothing but a few new houses built by the Ulster undertakers. Probably this did not appear to him a stretch of prerogative, since English boroughs had been formed by the mere precedent of writs issued to return members, no one knew on what grounds; and it was only very recently that the duty of election or of serving in parliament had come to be looked on as a privilege instead of a burthen.

In 1613 the new Parliament met, and rode in great state, some bringing 100 or 200 men in their train, to live as they could at Dublin. The Upper House consisted of twenty-five prelates, four earls, five viscounts, and sixteen barons, and though many of these temporal peers were Roman Catholics, the large number of spiritual peers made the majority of government secure.

The first trial of strength took place on the nomination of a Speaker for the Lower House. The government party proposed Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General; the opposition, Sir John Everard, who had been a judge, in spite of being a recusant. Irish tongues wagged fiercely, and finally there was a division made by the ayes, or supporters of Davies' going out, while the noes, who held by Everard, remained. It proved that only ninety-seven of them were left, while a hundred and twenty-seven had withdrawn so that the Attorney-General had a majority of thirty. Nothing daunted, however, the ninety-seven declared themselves the true House of Commons, and placed Everard in the chair. On the ayes returning there was a tremendous clamour and struggle. Some tried to pull Everard out of the chair, and when

CAMEO XI.

The Irish Parliament. 1613.

the ex-judge sat fast, they actually perched Davies on his knees, while the uproar grew louder and louder.

Finally the ninety-seven were driven out of the house, protesting vehemently, and Davies was presented to Lord Chichester and confirmed by him in his office.

The ninety-seven thereupon refused to attend Parliament any more, and the lords of their party followed their example. They met and drew up a remonstrance to the King, complaining bitterly of the elections in the new boroughs and counties by which they held themselves to have been unfairly outnumbered, declaring many of the new members to be nothing but servants and attorney's clerks. They also complained of the exclusion of Romanists from all official positions, of the heavy penal statutes, and the prohibitions against sending their children to be educated abroad, representing that since nothing would wean them from their religion, the King would consult his own interest and that of his kingdom by not oppressing them.

Chichester, seeing that nothing could be done in such a state of things, prorogued the Parliament, while the recusants sent Lords Gormanstown and Dunboyne, with two knights and two barristers, to represent their case, and offer their petition, their expences being paid by a collection made throughout Ireland.

James was not ungracious, he received the deputation, and indulged himself with arguing with them; thus so much encouraging them that one of the knights, Sir James Gough, putting a sanguine interpretation on his civil words, started off for Ireland, and landing at Waterford, announced that the King had empowered him to publish that there was to be no forcing of consciences, and that priests might be harboured, provided they did not declare that the Pope had power to depose kings. His faith in his own commission growing by force of affirmation, Sir James rode off to Dublin with thirty or forty gentlemen in his train, and entering the castle, presented himself with about eighty recusants to the Lord Deputy, informing him of this relaxation of the penal laws.

Chichester of course distrusted information sent by such a channel, and reproved Gough for publishing a falsehood. High words followed, and the knight was committed to prison.

James, however, ordered a commission of inquiry, and Chichester came over to justify himself. Two months passed in debate, and at last it was conceded that two of the returns had been illegal, as the members' return had preceded the creation of their constituency (Irish fashion certainly). For the rest, the election of Sir John Davies as Speaker, was confirmed, and James wound up the affair by making a discourse to the Lords on their disloyalty, in the midst of which Lord Delvin fell on his knees and vowed that he would always be faithful to his King but that nothing should make him swerve from his religion, begging leave to quit the country and serve in some land where he could preserve his faith without being suspected of treason.

James was somewhat put out of countenance, but he assured Delvin that it was only the other lords whom he meant, since they alone had opposed the Deputy.

Chichester was sent back with a charge to be lenient; and when the Parliament met again in 1614, Sir John Everard, who was a good and honest man, gave all his assistance in making matters pass quietly, and the Session passed of without further difficulty, the exiled nobles being attainted, and the forfeiture of their estates confirmed.

Another proceeding of this Parliament was the repeal of a statute passed under Philip and Mary forbidding the bringing in, maintaining, or marrying of Scots in Ireland. In spite of the prohibition, a colony of Scots had established itself at Broad Island in the county of Antrim in 1611, and many more continued to settle in Ulster, bringing with them Presbyterian ministers, so that northern Ireland was becoming a Scottish colony. Lord Chichester had been a pupil of the noted Puritan, Cartwright; and three Puritan ministers came over under his patronage, so that the Protestants of Ireland, instead of presenting an undivided front, were broken up into three bodies. At the best, antagonism to Rome was their strongest characteristic, as perhaps was natural, considering how they were encamped in the enemy's country. The misfortune had been that indifference, neglect, greed, and national animosity had left it possible for the Romish missions to master the hearts of the Irish people.

A Convocation was held at the same time as the Parliament, presided over by the Primate, Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh. It was an important one, for whereas the Irish Church had hitherto held the same formularies as the English in every respect, there was now a general discontent with the Thirty-nine Articles, as being too Catholic, and not Calvinistic enough. Nine articles which the Calvinistic party had attempted to impose on the English Church in 1592, and which had been suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, and were termed the Lambeth Articles from the place where they had been discussed, were brought forward in convocation, chiefly by the influence of James Ussher, son of the late Primate, and a man of great learning and piety, but strongly under Calvinistic impressions. Some of the English Articles were altered so as to express the doctrine of predestination, and others were added, pronouncing the Pope to be the Man of Sin predicted by St. Paul to the Thessalonians, laying down a hard and fast rule about the Sabbath, and also giving decided opinions as to the fall of the angels, and the primeval state of man.

There does not seem to have been much discussion. Arminianism was viewed as a stepping stone to Popery, and no one was willing to incur the name of it by opposing Calvinism. Indeed, constant contact with disaffected Roman Catholic fellow subjects naturally threw Irish Protestants into the strongest opposition, and these Articles were unanimously signed by the Bishops, and by Lord Chichester, as representing the King. Bishop Jones of Meath, who had acted as Prolocutor

CAMEO XI.

State of the Irish Church. 1614.

of the House of Bishops, was made Archbishop of Dublin, and Ussher became Bishop of Meath by the special desire of James, who was very proud of his learning, and used to boast that Ussher was a bishop of his own making. The good man tried to remedy the miserable state of his see; but he had a hard task. Out of 232 benefices in his diocese 150 had ruinous churches, only seventy-eight were in tolerable repair, as were seventy-six parsonage houses, but thirty-two of the parish clergy were non-resident, and the income of some was only a few shillings a year. Meath and Armagh were favourable specimens of Church work in Ireland, for in these two counties no curate was locked out of the Church by the chief landowner, as was done by the Earl of Westmeath, who was rather a favourite with the King. In the Irish-speaking parts were one or two clergy who understood the tongue, and one near Derry, who is mentioned with praise, had a little Latin and no English.

Unhappily, the good and active clergy, who really wished to work for the Church and their flocks, were very few. It was much more common to have recourse to Ireland when there was some cause that made promotion or success in England difficult, so that few good specimens came from the more civilised country; and the native clergy were, with such remarkable exceptions as Ussher, very inferior, and chiefly occupied by the terrible difficulty of getting any sort of livelihood out of their bits of glebe, or by acting as schoolmasters to the children of the few Protestant gentry at hand.

Those about Londonderry, being in places possessed by the city of London, seem to have been the best off; and the whole scheme of the settlements in Ulster had succeeded so well that the King desired to carry it out elsewhere. In Wexford his title had been proved—*i.e.*, the original proprietors had none to show—to a large quantity of land, which he resolved to dispose of to an English colony. Also, around the upper part of the Shannon, Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath were much desired, since the inhabitants were almost entirely Irish, who (as Carte says) were "living in little nasty cabins in the winter, and wandering with their cattle over the wild and desert mountains in the summer." They had given a passage to Tyrone in his rebellion, and were the refuge of all the outlaws and rebels from other parts, the bogs and mountains being almost inaccessible to the King's officers.

These counties had been granted to, and settled by, English gentlemen in the vigorous times of Edward III., Roger Mortimer and the Duke of York, and castles had been built on them, but during the Wars of the Roses, the settlers had either been expelled, or had run wild, becoming *Hibernüs ipsis Hiberniores;* and to all these estates the jury of inquiry, empowered by the deputy, found a verdict for the Crown, when the English inheritor was absent, or put in no claim. The heirs male of the O'Rourke family having failed, the King resumed their territory, and so on. James honestly hoped that by dealing thus with the estates, granting them to intelligent persons, he

CAMEO XI.

Oliver St. John as deputy. 1615.

should bring the Irish "to a state of civility and a life of industry," by making them work for wages and cottages like English peasants. Little did he know how bitter the Irish felt towards his settlers, nor how dear to them was their "vagabond and barbarous way of living!" He would have had them improved; but his emissaries would fain have improved them off the face of the earth.

Lord Chichester ceased to be deputy in 1615, and with him went much vigilance, honesty, and public spirit. Under Oliver St. John who succeeded him, the rapacity of the undertakers of land was greatly increased. As there were no rebellions nor confiscations, the officers of the Crown devised a new scheme. They formed a commission for detecting defective titles to estates, with Sir William Parsons at its head, and thus arose a race of informers called Discoverers, who made it their business to hunt up any kind of flaw in the title-deeds of an estate, being rewarded, in case of the ruin of the owner, with a grant of part of the lands.

One Feagh MacHugh Byrne was lord of an estate in Wicklow called the Ranelaghs. On his death in battle, Queen Elizabeth had confirmed his son Phelim in it, and so had King James, in spite of the opposition of Sir Richard Graham, an officer who was determined to get possession of it. Once foiled, Graham called Parsons to his aid, and this man showed a book in his own handwriting, declaring that certain freeholders had a right to the lands held by Phelim Byrne and his son Bryan; but a commission sent out by the King was just about to pronounce in the Byrnes' favour, when Parsons and Graham declared that the lands were crown property!

This stopped the commission, which could not take cognizance of crown affairs, and a fresh inquiry was set on foot, but the Byrnes had means of explaining matters to Lennox, now Duke of Richmond. He made the whole known to the King, and letters patent were again sent out comfirming Phelim Byrne, and his sons Bryan and Turlogh, in their inheritance.

But these gentlemen were not yet safe! Parsons and Lord Esmond, who had been drawn into the plot, absolutely refused to pass the patent at Dublin. Moreover, they seized on Turlogh and Bryan, and threw them into Dublin Castle on a charge of high treason!

To establish this charge they brought four witnesses. Three were men of the name of Kavanagh, notorious cattle stealers, one of whom had been sent to prison by a warrant from Phelim Byrne, the father, for carrying off a man's wife and cows. They readily bore false witness; but the fourth man, a farmer named Thomas Archer, was only tortured into doing so, after he had been laid on a heated grid-iron, with gunpowder lighted below, and then flogged till the agony broke down his endurance.

Twice the Grand Jury of Carlow threw out the bill of indictment supported by such testimony. For which contumacious resistance the Star Chamber at Dublin fined the Grand Jury! As to the

CAMEO XI.
Parsons and the Byrnes.

Kavanaghs, they were hanged for cattle stealing at Kilkenny, with their last breath retracting their falsehoods, and declaring the innocence of the Byrnes.

Repeated orders came from England to release the brothers and restore them to their estates, but Sir William Parsons had seized Bryan's share, and the officials managed to elude every order for their relief.

At last, hearing of the death of the Byrnes' friend—the Duke of Richmond, Parsons, Graham, and Esmond trumped up another accusation, having again found witnesses among known thieves and criminals, though many respectable persons endured torture rather than accuse these innocent gentlemen.

This case was brought forward at Wicklow, where most of the Grand Jury had already, or hoped for, a share of the Ranelaghs. They found a true bill, and on hearing the news Phelim's wife died of grief and anxiety. The witnesses were not examined before them, but their depositions taken in Irish and translated!

More evidence was wanted, and Graham's son and a certain Sir Henry Belling scoured the country, threatening, torturing, imprisoning numbers of persons in the vain hope of extorting some evidence that might be made to pass. Happily this gave time for information to reach the King. He desired a commission, consisting of the Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Lord Chancellor, to inquire into the matter. The perfect innocence of the Byrnes was established, and they were reinstated in what was left of the Ranelaghs. But Sir William Parsons had secured the rest, and never disgorged a field! However, it is a comfort that injustice failed for once in destroying these persecuted men.

CAMEO XII.

THE SNOW KING AND THE QUEEN OF HEARTS.

1613—1620.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1600. Philip III.	1612. Matthias.	1605. Paul V.
	1619. Ferdinand II.	

CAMEO XII.
Heidelberg.

THE castle of Heidelberg (called Trotz Kaiser—Challenge Emperor) on its rock above the vine-clad Neckar, is, even in its fallen state, one of the prime glories of Germany. When Elizabeth Stewart was carried thither as her first married home, it was in its full splendour. It was almost a city within a city. Highest of all, on a cliff once inhabited by a prophetess, stood the keep, called after her Jette's Tower ; around it was a feudal castle, to which on the east side had been added a royal hall of magnificent proportions and another splendid building on the west side was called the knight's hall, and had, sculptured on its façade, portraits of all the Pfalzgrafen. The floors were of porphyry, the pillars gilt, the ceilings painted, the walls hung with the richest tapestry. In front was a magnificent terrace, on which was placed the great tun of Heidelberg. In the tower was a library, containing some of the rarest and most valuable books in Europe, and beneath lay a most extensive garden, or rather pleasure ground, for it contained a theatre and a tilt-yard, where all manner of entertainments were given. Large additions in the English style were made by Frederick, Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, and taking into account the beauty of the situation, Heidelburg must have been one of the stateliest palaces in Europe. The number of persons there maintained amounted to a thousand, all in the service of the Elector. At every meal a great kettle-drum was sounded, and twenty-four trumpets called the huge household to its various tables. Three hundred horses filled the stables ; and on extraordinary occasions of festivity, such as the arrival of the Elector with his bride, 6,000 guests were daily entertained. It seems extraordinary that a little Rhenish state like the Palatinate should have

CAMEO XII.

The Catholic and the Evangelical Leagues.

supported such an expenditure; but Frederick had had a long minority, the revenues of one hundred monasteries had been seized by his father and uncles, and, for his misfortune, he was looked on as the head of the Protestant influence in Germany.

Affairs had been pacified there by the treaty of Augsburg in 1552, but not on any enduring basis, though the uprightness and gentleness of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. had kept the peace for a long time. It was only Lutherans who had been considered at the peace of Augsburg; Calvinism had not then been recognised in Germany, and yet it had since become a considerable power. Frederick of the Rhine was a Calvinist, and so were many other of the princes of the South German states. At the same time the Counter-reformation had told considerably in Germany, and the Roman Catholic party were much stronger and more zealous than before, and inclined to watch jealously against the aggressions of the Protestants upon Church property, especially to prevent them from getting hold of any more of the Prince Bishoprics, and secularising them, by the appointment of a prince who bore the name of Bishop, but was not in Holy Orders at all.

Two leagues were formed, who watched each other narrowly—a Protestant league, with Prince Christian of Anhalt as its head, and a Catholic league, whose guiding spirit was Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

The sons of the Emperor Maximilian II. had none of his large-hearted spirit. Their mother was the sister of Philip II. She was an excellent lady, tenderly beloved by her husband; but she brought them an unhappy inheritance. The marriage with a near kinswoman intensified the predisposition to melancholy, often amounting to lunacy, which the house of Austria had inherited from Juana of Aragon, and it showed itself in several of the sons. Moreover, Maximilian had sent them all in turn to be educated at Madrid, where their uncle had imbued them with his narrow-minded zeal, and taught them to believe, as he did, that it was better not to rule at all than to rule over heretics. Rudolf, the eldest, was a man of considerable acquirements, and had much taste for art; but he was a slave to astrology, and having been told that the stars predicted that he would perish by the hand of a near kinsman of the second generation, he would neither marry himself, nor let any of his brothers, marry, except the Archduke Albert, whose wedding with the Infanta Isabel was arranged by Philip II. Moreover Rudolf shut himself up entirely, and as he was passionately fond of horses, he had an underground passage made by which he might visit his stables; and his whole life was spent in watching against imaginary murderers. He was much under the influence of the Jesuits, and this made the whole Protestant interest uneasy, more especially as after his two brothers, Matthias and Albert, the next heir of the house of Austria was their cousin Ferdinand, son to Charles, brother of Maximilian II., who was Duke

CAMEO XII.

The Bohemians dethrone Rudolf. 1611.

of Styria, and who, by fair means or foul, had in a very few years reconciled the once Protestant district to the Church.

The Bohemians had, ever since the time of John Huss, enjoyed those privileges which they had won at the sword's point. Without a schism, the Cup was granted to the laity, and though in union with Rome, their national Church was purified from many of her corruptions. They well knew that the Jesuits looked on them as near akin to heretics, and in order to secure themselves, they demanded a royal charter securing freedom of opinion. This was granted in 1609, but the Emperor was evidently taking measures to elude it, and two years later there was a general uprising of the Czechs. Matthias, fearing that Bohemia would be lost to the family, took the part of the insurgents, who dethroned Rudolf and elected Matthias, on his renewing the royal charter. Rudolf had no means of resistance, but when he signed his abdication he called down curses upon Prague, and upon his brother, gnawed his pen, and left a blot which still bears witness to his fury.

He died the next year, 1612, and Matthias succeeded to all his crowns, and was elected Emperor. He had naturally much of his father's mild, open temper, but he was much under Jesuit influence, and all the Hussites and Protestants looked with dread to his heir, Ferdinand of Styria. The Czechs had always held their crown to be elective, though ever since the marriage of their Queen with John of Luxemburg, the blind king who died at Creçy, they had let it go to her descendants. Now, however, they were resolving on the election of a prince more favourable to their ritual than was Ferdinand, when, in 1617, their Diet was convoked, and they were informed that their crown was hereditary, and were called upon to acknowledge Ferdinand of Styria as their future king. They submitted, on condition that he would swear to the royal charter. He consulted his priests, who told him that though it had been a sin to grant it, it was not a sin to accept it as part of the law of the land; and he therefore took the oath.

The Hussites soon found the yoke much heavier upon them, and Protestant churches were pulled down. A protest to Matthias was drawn up, but an answer came so harsh and menacing that the Czech nobles were persuaded that it emanated, not from the Emperor, but from two members of the council of regency of Bohemia, named Martinitz and Slavata, who were said to have driven their peasants to mass with their hounds. On the 23rd of May, 1616, a large party of noblemen, headed by Count Heinrich of Thurm, invaded the room where these two were sitting, and insisted on knowing who had composed the letter. Hot words followed, and finally Martinitz and Slavata were dragged to a window seventy feet above the fosse and thrown out, with their secretary after them. A large heap of waste paper had accumulated, which broke the fall, so that they crawled away unhurt. This defenestration, as the Bohemians called it, was the first act in

CAMEO XII.

The Defenestration. 1616.

the Thirty Years' War. The nobles chose thirty of their number to act as directors, expelled all Jesuits from Bohemia and the Diet, commanded a levy of soldiers to form an army, and voted taxes to support it; but nobody collected them, and the soldiers lived as best they might. Meantime Ferdinand had obtained his nomination to the crown of Hungary, and had taken up the government for Matthias, to whom the revolt in Hungary had been a death blow. He considered that the curse of Rudolf had fallen on him, and only languished through the few remaining months of his life. Ferdinand sent General Buquoi with a Hungarian army into Bohemia, where only two cities, Budweis and Pilsen, chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholics, held out for the house of Hapsburg.

Count Ernest Mansfeld, an illegitimate son of the Mansfeld well known in the Netherlands, had become a Protestant, and a leader of troops, raised, like the old Free Companies or Landsknechts, from all countries, and ready to be hired on either side. He, with 2,000 men, entered the service of Bohemia, and a forced loan was raised from the rich. He besieged Pilsen and took it, and the troops of Buquoi were forced to retreat upon Budweis. Then winter came on, and both Mansfeld's soldiers and those of Budweis lived by horrible exactions on the unfortunate populace around them, and the Bohemians had the first taste of the miseries that Germany was to endure at the hands of lawless soldiers for a whole generation.

Meantime the Czech nobles considered to whom to offer their crown, and the Elector Palatine was spoken of. Christian of Anhalt, the moving spring of the Protestant league, was very anxious that he should accept it; but, on the other hand, his mother, Louisa Juliana, daughter to William the Silent, believed that the attempt could only lead to ruin, and James I., his father-in-law, strongly advised against it. It was, however, a brilliant notion wherewith to entertain the bright young Count at Heidelberg, whither all the ardent spirits of Germany resorted, and were fascinated by the winning graces of Elizabeth, whom they called the Queen of Hearts, and who inherited much of her grandmother's power of captivating the imagination.

Death of Matthias. 1619.

Matthias died on the 20th of March 1619, His last advice to Ferdinand was, "If you wish to make your people happy, never let them feel the exertion of your authority." Immediately on his death, Frederick, who as Elector Palatine was Vicar-General of the empire during the interregnum, sent forth summonses to the other six Electors to assemble to choose a successor. Meantime the Bohemian army, which had received a subsidy from Count Thurm, entered the Austrian dominions, which contained many Protestants, and arrived under the walls of Vienna.

Ferdinand sent his children for safety to the loyal Tirol. His danger was great, for the Austrian Protestants were joining with the Bohemians. His comfort was, that, when in prayer before the crucifix he believed himself to hear a voice saying, "Ferdinand, I will not

CAMEO XII.
Attack on Vienna.
1619.

forsake thee." His clergy urged him to fly, but his personal courage was high, and he waited firmly. Sixteen Austrian nobles broke in on him, and required of him permission to form a confederation with the Bohemians, which would have made the Protestant nobility all-powerful from Styria to Silesia. He was even told that if he refused to sign the paper giving permission, he would be shut up in a convent and his children educated as Protestants; and one rude baron held him by a button of his doublet, saying, "Sign it, Nandel." At that moment a trumpet was heard; a regiment of horse had entered Vienna unperceived by Thurm. He was rescued, and the Austrian nobles slunk away to take shelter with Thurm, who was soon forced to return to Bohemia, to assist Mansfeld.

The Bohemian Diet met, and after some hesitation in favour of the Duke of Savoy and Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, they elected as their king, Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

That prince was at that moment at Frankfort, where the election to the Imperial throne was held. Some had spoken of making him Emperor. He himself had endeavoured to persuade Maximilian of Bavaria to be nominated, but hereditary custom prevailed, and Ferdinand was unanimously chosen on the 28th of August, 1619.

Letters and ambassadors were in the meantime on their way to Heidelberg with the offer of the crown of Bohemia. There were many opinions respecting the acceptance of the offer, and Frederick was tossed about between one and the other. His mother declared it would be his ruin; but her brother, Maurice of Orange, on hearing a doubt expressed whether such an enterprise could be successful, exclaimed, "Is there any green cloth in Heidelberg to make a fool's cap for the person who can ask so foolish a question?" And no doubt Maurice would have succeeded, but he forgot that his nephew was a yet untried man, younger in character at five-and-twenty than he himself had been at sixteen.

King James was the only one of his kindred besides the Electress Dowager who considered the attempt dangerous and undesirable. He did not approve of subjects rising against their kings, nor of accepting other people's crowns, nor did he like quarrels with the house of Austria, and schemes that might upset his peaceful policy. The Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Bavaria, the Prince-Bishop of Maintz and the French Government likewise advised Frederick to content himself with his grand, prosperous, and happy condition on the Rhine, instead of involving himself in an undertaking for which, as some of them probably saw, he had neither capacity nor resources. "If I take it, I shall be accused of ambition; if I refuse, of cowardice," said the poor irresolute youth. In truth, the only chance of his success would have been in his happening to be possessed of the military genius of his uncle Maurice, or of his cousin Turenne, and of his being able to draw England heart and soul into the struggle.

Nobody made any doubt that this last would be done. Archbishop

CAMEO XII.
Election of Frederick.
1619.

Abbot himself wrote to the young Electress that there could be no doubt that the King would ultimately give his hearty aid. All the court preachers at Heidelberg were of the same mind. They thought there was a chapter in the Apocalypse predicting the triumph of their prince. His chief counsellors, Camerarius, the Duke of Bouillon, who had watched over his education, and Prince Christian of Anhalt, the soul of the Protestant league, were all of the same mind. None of them perceived that the immense amount of advice sought by the poor young man might almost be taken as an indication of his unfitness for the undertaking.

His wife, the eager, high-spirited Elizabeth, had no doubts. She wrote letters upon letters to every one who could influence her father, and she gave her husband no peace. She told him that he should not have married a king's daughter, if he had not spirit to be a king. She declared that she would rather eat a dry crust as a Queen than feast as an Electress, and showing him her three little children, reproached him with depriving them of a crown.

At last two ambassadors from the Czechs, brothers named Müller, reached Heidelberg, where they found that the Elector had gone to Rotenburg, to consult an assembly of the Protestant princes, after ordering prayers to be put up in all the churches that he might come to a right decision. Elizabeth promised the ambassadors to do her utmost in their cause, and passed them on to Rotenburg, where, under strong pressure from all around him, Frederick, with tears in his eyes, signed a paper promising to meet the Bohemians on their frontier, and if they offered him suitable terms, to accept their crown.

He then sent for Lord Doncaster, James's envoy from England, and proposed to send his wife and children to make a long-promised visit there; but Doncaster, who already knew from Elizabeth herself, that she was absolutely resolved to share the adventure, persuaded him that such a precaution would have a bad effect upon the world, and advised that she should join the expedition. There was wild exultation in England, where hatred to the house of Austria prevailed, and among the poor deluded inhabitants of the Palatinate, who little knew what miseries were coming on them. Only the old Electress, Juliana, took to her bed for some days, in her grief and despair at the issue she foresaw to the enterprise, for which her clear good sense perceived that her son had no qualifications.

For the last time Frederick and Elizabeth held their court in their beautiful castle, and received many of the Protestant princes and their wives, who flocked to congratulate them. The Duke of Zweibrücken, who had ruled the Palatinate during Frederick's minority, was requested to resume the government, with the assistance of the Dowager Electress, under whose care the two younger children were left. The eldest, Henry Frederick, who was five years old, was to accompany his parents on their journey. He went to church with his father on the last Sunday, when the chaplain preached a farewell sermon amid

CAMEO XII.

Departure from Heidelberg. 1619.

the sobs and tears of the congregation, who deeply loved the whole family.

Elizabeth and her English household had their service and sermon in the English chapel, where the text was taken from St. James, iv. 13, "Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city and continue there a year." It was afterwards remembered as almost prophetic. The attendant who reported it in a letter to England declared that it ought to have been preached at St. Paul's Cross. Probably Dr. Chapman, the preacher, felt some of the doubts entertained by his sovereign, who absolutely refused to embroil his country in an unjust war, and would not permit the titles of King and Queen of Bohemia to be substituted for Elector and Electress in the prayer for the royal family.

On the Monday morning, the 27th of September, the cavalcade set forth from their beautiful home in numerous carriages, with one hundred and fifty-three carts carrying their luggage. They were to pay a visit by the way to the Margraf of Anspach, and while going down a steep hill near that city a stone rebounded from the wheel, struck Elizabeth so violently on the leg that she fainted, but she was quite recovered by the time she arrived. At Amberg an envoy from the Emperor met them to dissuade the Elector from his dangerous attempt, but the die was now cast, and he could only reply that his mind was made up. A thousand troops from his own dominions here joined him, and with them he proceeded to Waldsassen Castle, which they reached on the 13th of October. They were only a mile from Eger, the first Bohemian town, where the deputies were awaiting their approach.

On the 16th eighteen carriages drove up to Waldsassen, each containing three deputies. Frederick received them bare-headed, with his little son by his side, and attended by Prince Christian of Anhalt. Count Andreas Schlick read a formal deed of the deposition of Ferdinand and the election of Frederick as King of Bohemia, Margrave of Moravia and Lusatia, and Duke of Silesia, and requested him to accept these titles. He answered, with tears, that as he had never solicited their election he took is as a Divine appointment, and promised to govern with right and equity as became a Christian prince. The deputies kissed his hand, and that of little Henry Frederick, and were then presented to the Queen, to whom a few courteous speeches were made in French.

All then went to church, and heard a sermon on the 20th Psalm. Then came a dinner, and afterwards the signing and sealing of their charters.

On the following day all the train of carriages passed the frontier, and late in the year as it was, at Falckenay the whole party not only dined, but listened to a sermon in the open unsheltered fields. At each city they were welcomed with ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and preaching of sermons, until on the 21st of October, they made their entry into Prague, the King riding, the Queen in one splendid

CAMEO XII.

Entry into Prague. 1619.

coach and her little son in another, so that each might be fully seen. There was immense enthusiasm, and the crowd was so dense that the King begged that salutes might not be fired for fear of accidents. At five o'clock the royal party had worked their way through pageants and speeches to the palace, where the ladies thronged round Elizabeth, and some of them kissed the hem of her robes. They were delighted with her bright, lively manner, and her great admiration of the curiosities of the palace.

Prague was a beautiful and wonderful city. It consisted of two parts, each walled, and separated from one another by the Moldau. The old city was of Slavonic growth, almost eastern; the new, which contained the palace, had a more German character. The Czechs were a plain-living and dressing people, not much educated, few speaking even German, the men devoted to war and hunting, the women, mere housekeepers. The Hussite struggle, too, had left a grave impress on them. They had no notion of the pageants and allegorical devices with which other cities made holiday, they only presented arms and preached sermons. Frederick took twelve young nobles into his household, where their awkward manners were the amazement of the English and Rhinelanders. One upset a cup of wine on the Queen's lap; another carrying a tray, let all the dishes on it slip off without missing them, and held it to her empty; and a third, while staring at the antics of her monkey, overthrew a sugar-basin on the floor.

"This king has thrust himself into a labyrinth," said the Pope, Pius V.; and the Jesuits said, "He will be a snow king." There were graver difficulties that had not been realised beforehand. Frederick was a thoroughgoing Calvinist; Elizabeth had nearly the same views, and their chaplain Scultetus maintained them in their opinions. They seem never to have realised that the Hussites were really Catholics, and that all the ornaments of the churches and shrines in streets were retained, while the services, though vernacular, were far higher in ritual than those which the English Puritans disliked. Moreover, those of the Bohemians who were Protestants, were Lutherans, and they likewise had no sympathy with the bare iconoclasm and severity of Calvinism.

To make a legal king in the eyes of the Czechs, anointing and the full coronation service were needed, and Scultetus could not bring himself to perform this, though Frederick was ready to submit. However, the administrator of the Hussite college, a fine, venerable, white-bearded old man, performed the ceremony. The priests of this persuasion wore blue mantles and hats, and the Lutheran pastors, violet ones. Elizabeth was crowned separately three days later.

Curious presents were brought to her. On St. Elizabeth of Hungary's day the burghers' wives arrived with gifts of all kinds of bread, cakes and comfits—no doubt in allusion to those loaves of "the dear saint," that were said to have been transformed into roses; but the pert young Protestant court, understanding nothing of all this, laughed at the oddness of the offering, and an English page twisted up a long roll into

CAMEO XII.

Birth of Prince Rupert. 1619.

fantastic shapes and stuck it into his hat, while the poor women retired, abashed by the courtiers, yet pleased with the gracious manners of the Queen.

Soon after, the citizens gave her a hundred and fifty pieces of gold in a silver bowl, the Jews presented her with a silver alms-dish in the shape of a ship, and the ladies brought her an ebony and ivory cradle, silver gilt and adorned with gems, and a chest of the same, full of the choicest swaddling clothes of cambric and lace.

It was the most costly equipment that probably the occupant of that splendid cradle ever enjoyed. He made his appearance on the 26th of November, and was greeted with delight as the first prince who had been born in Prague, though he was only his parents' third son, and everybody in the city was admitted to admire him.

In the meantime, the chaplain, Scultetus, had been doing the cause of his master great harm, by stirring up the Calvinists of the royal suite to make an attack on the images of the cathedral on St. Thomas's Day. They pulled down a grand and beautiful crucifix of great antiquity, and destroyed it, together with another presented by the Emperor Rudolf, trampled the relics under foot, and destroyed the pictures, Scultetus addressing one Madonna in the words of John Knox—"Help thyself if thou canst, thou poor silly thing."

The people of Prague were hotly angered, but they hoped that the King had nothing to do with the outrage. However, on Christmas Day, the Lutherans were much displeased at the spectacle of their King's Calvinist communion, seated at the table, and in this Elizabeth thought it expedient to share, writing a long letter in excuse to her father about the undesirableness of its being supposed that she differed from her husband.

Scultetus' wrath next directed itself to the bridge over the Moldau. It was a famous bridge. There the Emperor Wenceslas had drowned the confessor of his wife, Sophia, for refusing to betray to him the subjects of her confession, and it had therefore always been held sacred to the memory of St. John of Nepomuk. It was adorned with twenty-eight grand images, presented by noble families of Bohemia, and surmounted by an immense crucifix of great antiquity. Scultetus discoursed to the King about Hezekiah and Nehushtan, but Frederick seems to have borne in mind that he had promised to respect the religion of the Bohemians, and would not interfere; while Count Thurm warned the chaplain that he would make a fatal error by insisting. Elizabeth, however, had a decided objection to the bridge, but on very different grounds, namely, that it commanded a view of bathers, of both sexes, disporting themselves in the Moldau.

However, the chaplain was not to be baffled, and he collected his fanatic friends by night. On some pretext, they sent away the sentry, went to work, and before morning had destroyed the crucifix.

There was a tremendous uproar in the morning when the fact came

CAMEO XII.

Discontent in Prague. 1620.

to light, and Count Andreas Schlick could hardly appease it by reading a proclamation from the King disowning all share in the outrage, and promising that the other figures should be spared. The people dispersed, but bitter things were said of the Queen's objection to passing the bridge.

Frederick kept Scultetus from doing further mischief in Prague by carrying him on a progress into Moravia and Silesia. The chaplain was a native of this province, which was chiefly Calvinist, and where he preached to his heart's content in churches that had already undergone the Deformation. They even met a prophet called Kotter who foretold that ere long the King would rise to be Kaiser. Moreover, Frederick actually reckoned on adding the British crowns to the Bohemian, and alleging that Prince Charles was in very feeble health, demanded that Henry Frederick should be declared heir of Bohemia in case he himself should be called off to attend his wife to England. Meantime discontents and suspicions of his Calvinism were arising, and a strange, wild adventure among the nobles told against him. Some twelve years before, a Bohemian baron, finding that his eldest daughter had formed an unsuitable attachment, shut her up in a mountain fortress, almost inaccessible, while he married her sister his only other child, to Baron Slabata, a Calvinist. The old baron died, leaving all his lands to Slabata, who kept the captive still closely guarded in her tower, until a Lutheran knight, Otto von Wartenberg, with a few trusty followers, scaled the fortress, released the lady, and proceeded to turn Slabata out of the family castle and take possession of it in her name.

This had happened before Frederick's arrival, and both barons agreed that the law should decide between them; but Slabata, as a Calvinist, was the most favourably looked upon, and, pending the decision, Otto was imprisoned for his acts of violence, though the lady was allowed to remain in the Castle of Gutschin till the suit was decided. The judgment went against the elder sister, probably being guided by the father's intention; but it was regarded as the effect of the court being biassed in favour of the Calvinist, and there was great discontent, since Slabata was a harsh, violent man, and sympathy and romance went with the Wartenbergs.

The lady held out the Castle of Gutschin, but on the representation of the authorities she promised to admit Slabata, provided he came quietly without armed men. Slabata arrived apparently with only peaceful attendants, but immediately admitted some soldiers through the postern. Thereupon the lady desired her guards to turn them out. She was vanquished, and driven into an inner tower, where she still had a few barrels of powder, and some wine. She was thought to have been urging them to prolong the desperate resistance, but no one knows the truth, for suddenly a frightful explosion took place, and baron, lady, soldiers, servants and all, were buried in the ruins of the castle, only five or six persons escaping alive. No sooner did the news

CAMEO XII.

Festivities at Prague. 1620.

arrive at Prague—where the explosion must have been heard, for Gutschin was only ten miles off—than Otto von Wartenberg was set free to take possession of the ruins; but the poor man's heart was broken, and he died in a few days' time.

The compassion excited by this tragedy recoiled upon the new King, who was supposed to have favoured Slabata as a Calvinist. However, the good folk of Prague were well satisfied with the spectacle which ensued of the state-christening of their four-months-old prince, which had been delayed in hopes of a visit from his godfather, Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, elected King of Hungary. Bethlem could not come, but sent eighteen coaches full of splendidly-arrayed representatives, escorted by 300 horsemen. The states of Lithuania and Silesia were the godmothers, represented by proxies, and the ceremony took place on the 31st of March in the great church. The grandees did not enter in a procession, but straggled in by ones and twos, the entrance of each being announced by hautboys and kettle-drums outside, and a trumpet within. A marble table stood ready with a golden bowl of water, beside which sat the wife of the chief subject in Bohemia, the Archburgrave, with the babe in her arms, and on each side of her were the other proxy sponsors. A sermon was of course preached by Scultetus, after which the child was baptised by the name of Rupert, and then handed round from one sponsor to the other, then through all the ladies present, and to all the rest of the spectators who had any curiosity to handle an infant specimen of royal humanity. Rupert was the name of the only Elector Palatine who had attained to the empire, and might further be remembered as the husband of an English princess, Blanche, the daughter of Henry IV. The child was promised the Duchy of Lithuania, the Palatinate being destined to the second brother, Charles Louis, and Bohemia, if nothing more, to Henry Frederick. Outside the church stood Bethlem Gabor's present, a magnificent horse, with housings worked with precious stones.

There was afterwards a great feast in a temporary building in the palace gardens, followed by a ball. There ensued on the next day a tilting match, next a hunt, and in the evenings Elizabeth and her ladies astonished the Bohemians with masques and ballets like those of her mother at Whitehall.

Yet dangers were thickening about them. The Emperor had had a conference with the astute and able Duke of Bavaria, who had promised his aid, provided that the electoral dignity of the rebel Palatine should be transferred to himself. The Austrian nobles were returning to their allegiance, and the Court of Madrid sent orders to the Marquis Spinola, commanding the Spanish army in the Netherlands, to be ready to march at the summons of the Emperor.

In England, nothing would induce King James to throw his power into the scale. He thought the whole attack on the Emperor

CAMEO XII.
James's non-intervention.
1620.

unjust, and moreover he was unwilling to quarrel with Spain, since he had the foolish ambition of matching his son with an Infanta. Moreover, a war would have necessitated the calling of a Parliament to grant supplies, and he feared that they would come clogged with conditions.

So, all that he would grant to Elizabeth's earnest letters, and the representations of the Rhenish envoy, Baron d'Hona, was that Frederick might raise a regiment of English volunteers at his own expense to guard the person of his English wife, and wearing her liveries of red and green. Also that if they pleased, the London merchants might make a loan of 100,000*l.*, but he himself would not demand it.

This backwardness made a great difference to the Protestant league in Germany, who had put Frederick forward chiefly because they thought he had good friends to back him; and when they found that his father-in-law would not support him, they began to feel that they had made a great mistake. Moreover, the Elector of Saxony was jealous of the increased power of the Palatinate, and he led the way in bargaining with the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, who promised, as heads of the Catholic league, never to attempt to recover the Church lands that had been secularised, so long as their holders continued to be loyal subjects.

Frederick was trying to prepare, and to raise, a disciplined army for resistance; but the Bohemians had no notion of any fighting except each man for his own hand. They would not meet without a riotous feast; they refused to obey orders when he wanted to exercise them; and if he summoned them to meet at six in the morning, declared that it was contrary to their privileges to get up so early. He was likewise in grievous want of money, and therefore prepared to sell off the curiosities of Rudolf's museum, by which of course he affronted his subjects.

Spinola was raising a Flemish army, as it was believed, to attack the Palatinate, and the poor old Electress Juliana besought all the allies she could think of to come to her aid. Her brother, Maurice of Orange, sent off such forces as he could spare to her help, with his younger brother Henry. James I. was himself stirred when he found the Palatinate in danger, and remonstrated with the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, saying that he had never sanctioned the Bohemian usurpation, but that he could not see his grandchildren deprived of their inheritance.

Gondomar politely answered that he only wished the Palatinate were in his master's hands, that he might have the pleasure of delivering it to the King. However, James sent the Earl of Southampton with a body of troops to protect the Palatinate, though with strict orders only to act on the defensive; but several important places had already been taken by Spinola; and the Electress, for the sake of the two young children in her care, was forced to leave beautiful

CAMBO XII.

Muster of the Catholic League. 1620

Heidelberg, and seek the protection of her son-in-law, the Markgraf of Brandenburg. The unfortunate Frederick and Elizabeth still hoped that the Protestant league would take up their cause. The princes were actually assembled at Ulm, but the intrigues and promises of Maximilian of Bavaria induced them to separate, satisfied with the security they enjoyed that they had nothing to fear so long as they did not defend the Palatinate.

Nothing was left to Frederick save his own army, commanded by Christian of Anhalt, and this he resolved to join. He would fain have sent his wife away from the rambling, ill-fortified city of Prague, but she would not seek safety apart from him, though she decided on sending her eldest son, Henry Frederick, to the care of Ernest of Nassau in Friesland.

The Bohemians were offended at what they thought showed a want of confidence in them, but they certainly had not given much reason for placing trust in them. In September, Frederick set forth to join his army, having first received the Holy Communion publicly with his wife. He left his life-guard to protect her, and the people took leave of him with apparent affection, but he did not long remain absent, for two envoys arrived from England, sent by James in the vain hope of mediating between the Emperor and his son-in-law.

But for this it was too late. The army of the Emperor under Buquoi had joined that of the Duke of Bavaria, and the presiding spirit of all was Count Tilly. He was by birth a Hungarian peasant, who had risen by being faithful, temperate, and courageous, in addition to having a genius for war. He was a rough and uncouth figure, but where his green doublet, slouched hat, and red feather were seen, there followed victory, and therewith terrible bloodshed and spoil. As the rich vineyards on the banks of the Rhine were the spoil of the Spaniards and Flemings under Spinola, so the fair hills and valleys of Bohemia were overrun by the terrible soldiers of Tilly. And this was but the beginning of the horrors that were to desolate Germany for thirty years.

Frederick had striven hard to raise, equip, and pay his army, but Christian of Anhalt is said to have preyed upon the supplies, and the Bohemians were slack in finding money. There were brave English and Dutch volunteers, and Mansfeld, Thurm, and Hohenlohe were all able leaders, but Anhalt had the chief command, and he seems to have been thoroughly incompetent. Frederick was irresolute and diffident, but when in the first week of November he found that the enemy were trying to get between his army and Prague, he marched back quickly, and on the afternoon of Saturday the 18th of November, arrived in good spirits to make a visit to his wife at his palace at Prague, saying the enemy was at no great distance, and expecting a battle in a day or two.

Meantime, the Imperialists had reached an eminence called the

CAMEO XII.
The Battle of the White Hill.
1620.

Winter Hill, and spent the night in the Star Park, unsuspected till morning, and even then Frederick went to sermon and to dinner as if no enemy was in the way.

The Imperial generals had doubted whether they would not give a day to rest their troops, but Tilly was for immediate action; and in the midst of their debate, a Dominican friar came forward crying, "Sons of the Church, wherefore hang back? March straight forward. The Lord hath delivered the enemy into our hands." And holding up a mutilated image, he added, "See what they have done to the Holy Virgin! Her prayers will be with you." A hurried mass was said, and when the Gospel for the day was read, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," the warriors looked at one another, and rejoiced in the omen.

Count Hohenlohe had proposed to surround and cut off Maximilian's Bavarians; but to this Anhalt would not consent, and the opportunity was lost. Presently the sound of cannon was heard in the city. Hoping it was only a salute, Frederick rode to the gate, meaning to put himself at the head of any intended movement. But the thunder of cannon and the cries increased each moment. He saw the hill-side covered with men and horses struggling in the smoke; and just outside the gates, the Prince of Anhalt galloped up, crying, "Your Majesty must save yourself! The enemy have the victory! —the Bavarian is raging. All is lost."

Frederick's first thought was to keep the city gates open for the fugitives, then to secure his wife and child. He had not the daring energy that could have thought of retrieving the day, and he knew not that Anhalt's son and Count Schlick were fighting resolutely on till both were made prisoners. The disgrace of the total and cowardly defeat seems to have been due to the flight and panic of Christian, and to some Hungarians who fled at the first onset.

The old and new towns of Prague were divided by the Moldau, and Frederick hurried to carry off all that he could from his palace to the old town. There was great confusion. The crown and its jewels, together with the badge of the Garter, were left behind, and even little Rupert, a swaddled bundle, was thrown into the carriage at the moment when it was starting for the famous bridge over the Moldau. There were those who triumphed in the Queen being now about to cross it.

The King halted at a citizen's house in the old town, and as he lifted his wife from the carriage, he sententiously observed: "Now I know where I am. We princes seldom learn the truth till we are taught it by adversity."

The English envoys made their way to him, and undertook to do all they could for him and their princess, and tried to intercede for them with the Duke of Bavaria, but they could get no answer when they wrote to beg for an interview. They wanted to carry Elizabeth away to a place of safety; but she would not leave her husband.

CAMEO XII.

Flight of Frederick. 1620.

and insisted on either staying to share his peril or on his going with her.

This decision hampered him, and when the Bohemian nobles urged on him to hold out the old town till their friends outside, or Bethlem Gabor from Hungary, should come to their aid, he could not resolve on endangering her, or on exposing the place to the miseries of a siege. Then it was proposed that he should go no farther than to Glatz, a strong castle where he could rally his forces; but solicitude for Elizabeth made him hurry away at once. He sent to beg that twenty-four hours might be allowed him, but only eight were granted. Count Thurm offered to defend the bridge for a whole day against the enemy to secure their retreat, but the poor King and Queen, who, if not wise, were at least unselfish, would not hear of this sacrifice. Off they set with 300 carriages, and multitudes on horseback and on foot; for all their German friends, and all the chief insurgent Czech nobility, went with them. The ladies wept and wailed, and Elizabeth's dignified fortitude was much admired; but she had been throughout unconsciously most injurious to her husband's welfare—first by her eagerness to grasp at the Bohemian crown, next by her want of sympathy with the people, then by attracting him from the post of danger when his presence there was most important. The fugitives made for Breslau, sometimes in danger from troops of Cossacks then belonging to Hungary and in Buquoi's army, and often impeded by falls of snow or bad roads, where Elizabeth was sometimes forced to ride on a pillion behind a young English gentleman named Hopton.

From Breslau, Frederick sent an express to ask his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, to receive his wife, for there was no longer any home for her at Heidelberg. The Elector was absent, and his council discouraged her coming, lest the Emperor should be offended and refuse their master the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia. However, Elizabeth set out with sixty horse, commanded by Baron d'Hona, and safely reached the fortress of Custrin—while her husband betook himself to Moravia and Silesia to try to retrieve his cause. The English were alarmed about her, for in Holland and the Netherlands everybody believed that she had died from grief and fatigue, and engravings of her hearse were sold at Antwerp; but these were groundless reports; Elizabeth was a vigorous woman, and on the 6th of January gave birth to a son whom she named after his great-uncle, Maurice of Orange.

Wit was unpitying on the misfortunes of the homeless wanderers. Placards were posted at Antwerp advertising for a lost King, lately run away, young, healthful, and rosy, with the first down on his cheeks, not of bad disposition, but coveting a kingdom at the instigation of others. A German song was made, the burden of which was—

"O if you know, now tell to me,
Where the lost Palatine can be?"

CAMEO XII.

Wanderings of Frederick and Elizabeth.

The pair were represented as marching about, he with a staff, she with a cradle, like beggars, and the more elegant effusions called the unfortunate Frederick the Snow King, or the Winter King, who had melted away. Well would it have been if the wreck of the youthful happiness of the princely pair had been the only misery caused by their rashness, but sorrows and crimes innumerable were in store for the unhappy Germans.

CAMEO XIII.

THE SPANISH COURTSHIP.

(1620—1623.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.	1619. Ferdinand II.	1621. Gregory XV.

CAMEO XIII.
—
English Perplexities.

THERE was great pity and enthusiasm throughout England for the princess and her husband, who were popularly regarded as champions of the Protestant cause. The being driven from the throne of Bohemia might be only the failure of an ill-concerted attempt; but the forfeiture of the hereditary dominions, and the being driven to wander as beggars, derided by every one, stirred the hearts of all the English, and they expected the King to send forth a grand expedition for the rescue of his daughter.

James was in many minds, and probably expressed his strongest sentiment when he told the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, that the Palsgrave was a villain and a usurper. So timid a man was sure above all to hate the person who had been the means of bringing him into a difficulty. And a very great difficulty it was, for, even if James had not been most unwilling to offend the great House of Austria in Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, and thus to lose all chance of his son's marriage with an Infanta, it was impossible to make war without money; and though he had contrived for six years to get on after a fashion by the help of Star Chamber penalties, forfeitures, fines on Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, customs, the sale of baronetcies and knighthoods, fees for offices of all kinds, the amount thus raised only just served to pay a small proportion of the government expenses in time of peace, besides that a good deal was swallowed up by grants to the Marquess of Buckingham and other favourites.

A Parliamentary grant was an absolute necessity even to pay the present debts, and it was thought that in the present temper of the English they would make it freely for the sake of assisting their princess. So a Parliament was summoned to meet in the January of

CAMEO XIII.
Attack on the Favourites.
1621.

1621, the King issuing directions to the sheriffs and mayors only to let safe, loyal, and obedient men be elected as members, such men in fact as would vote all the supplies that he wanted without asking inconvenient questions about what he called the *arcana imperii*, or making any demands in return.

On the 30th of January the Parliament assembled, and James made a speech denying all negotiations for the Spanish match, and describing the miscarriage of the "Addled Parliament" to "a strange kind of beasts called undertakers." Then he asked for money for the war on behalf of his daughter.

The first thing, however, that the Commons did was to petition him to banish all Popish recusants to the distance of ten miles from London and to prohibit them from hearing mass at their own houses or in the ambassador's chapels, also to put into execution all the penal laws against them. This intolerant petition was no doubt prompted by the view that they would take part with the enemy in the religious war that was anticipated. Next they complained of the imprisonment of the members after the last Parliament, and the King was forced to apologise and declare their right to freedom of speech.

Then they granted him two subsidies, which they purposely made small that he might be obliged to keep the Commons together and listen to them. He received the grant politely, declaring that he preferred it to millions less freely given, encouraged them to attend to the abolition of grievances, and declared that he should always be ready to do more than meet them half way. Probably he was sincere, for his views were generally just in the abstract, and the Commons appointed a Committee to inquire into national abuses.

The first was into patents for monopolies. Among them there were three, for licensing alehouses, inspecting hostelries, and for manufacturing gold and silver thread. These were held by Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, who had obtained them by the intercession of Buckingham's brother, Sir Edward Villiers, with whom the profits were shared, and the favourite himself had been bribed.

The gold thread had been made from imported material; and the licences and inspection of alehouses and inns, which properly belonged to the justices of the peace, had been made the pretext of cruel exactions, the monopolists and their agents concealing the real powers granted to them by the patent, and fining, ruining, and imprisoning thousands of persons.

Buckingham, on finding his brother attacked, proposed to the King to dissolve the Parliament; but an exceedingly clever clergyman, Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster, made him understand what a fatal policy this would be, and as Sir Edward Villiers was safe abroad, trying to secure a retreat for the Queen of Bohemia, the prosecution was allowed to continue. Sir Giles Mompesson also made his escape out of the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, and only Mitchell remained to endure the sentence passed by the Lords, that both should be

CAMEO XIII.
—
Impeachment of Bacon. 1621.

degraded from knighthood, imprisoned for life, be fined heavily, and all their goods and chattels forfeited to the King. Mompesson was to remain in perpetual banishment, and Ben Jonson exhibited him in a satirical comedy as Sir Giles Overreach.

The Parliament, encouraged by Sir Edward Coke, now flew at higher game, namely, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, who had been recently created Viscount St. Albans. Few men were ever more full of ability or more disappointing in character. His works are masterpieces in ethics and philosophy, and have constantly risen in fame and importance for nearly three centuries, so that he is in some measure an English Aristotle; but while his theory was well-nigh perfect, his practice was that of a mean, selfish lawyer. It was said of him that no man of any profession or business ever talked with him without learning more of it than he knew before, and his genius anticipated many discoveries in the sciences. Modern times have even devised an idea that he was more likely to have been the real author of Shakespeare's dramas than the runaway play-actor of Stratford!

All Bacon's great gifts had not, however, prevented him from indulging in great and vain expenses. His appearance in Court pageants was as sumptuous as might have befitted a *mignon* of Henry III., his gardens at Twickenham were a perfect paradise, and his town abode at York House equally beautiful. When he kept his sixtieth birthday there in the January of 1621, Ben Jonson addressed him in a poem beginning.—

> "Hail, happy Genius of this ancient pile!
> How comes it all things so about thee smile?
> The fire, the wine, the men, and in their midst
> Thou standst as if some mystery thou didst.
> England's High Chancellor, the destined heir,
> In his soft cradle, to his father's chair,
> Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full
> Out of their choicest and their whitest wool."

All this expenditure had been maintained by an undue use of Bacon's powers as an officer of the law. Precedent had in some degree justified him, for it seems to have always been the custom that the Lord Chancellors should receive presents from the persons who had suits in their courts or who wanted to have the Great Seal affixed to documents on their behalf. Irregular and insufficient payment to officials, left to be supplemented by payments from suitors, has prevailed in most countries in their growth into civilisation, and a parsimonious monarch like Elizabeth would have thought it quite fair that her ministers should be partly paid by those whom they served. The opening given for bribery was not then perceived, and in James's time corruption was so universal that only personal animosity would direct the attack on any person in particular.

Bacon had, however, for a consideration, sealed the patents for Mompesson and his companions, and this seems to have enabled his enemy Coke to direct the storm upon him. Twenty-two cases were

CAMEO XIII.

Fall of Bacon. 1621.

hunted up in which he or his servants had received presents of money, rings, hangings, or jewelled buttons, and it was alleged that in the three years of his Chancellorship these gifts had amounted to 100,000*l.* The evidence respecting many of these broke down, since some had been made after the judgement was given, and other gifts had been merely made by friends who were not suitors, and others were the return of loans that had been made by him, but enough remained to show that both he, and still more his servants, had made an unscrupulous use of their opportunities of enriching themselves.

When James came down to adjourn Parliament for the Easter recess, he declared himself always willing to do justice with or without his Parliament, an announcement with which the Lords were so delighted that they declared that they would always celebrate its anniversary by sitting in their robes. The Lord Chancellor's feelings were very different. When his servants rose as he passed through the hall, he said, "Sit down, my friends, your rise hath been my fall." He took to his bed, and observed, "If this is to be a Chancellor, I think if the Great Seal were lying on Hounslow Heath nobody would take it up."

Before the House met again, he saw the King privately, arguing his innocence most powerfully, and observing, "Those who strike at your Chancellor will strike at your crown. I am the first, I wish I may be the last sacrifice."

James was so much shaken that he had nearly resolved to break up the Parliament, and would have done so had not Dean Williams declared that, "if he did so only to save some cormorants who have devoured that which they must disgorge, you will pluck up a sluice which will overwhelm you all."

The Lords were about to proceed to a trial when Bacon sent in, by the hands of the Prince of Wales himself, a submission and supplication couched in general terms; and he afterwards drew up a confession that he had actually been guilty of corruption. Twelve of the Lords were sent to York House to ask whether he had signed it with his own hand. He answered—

"My Lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart; I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed."

They left him, full of pity, but as a judgement pronounced by the Lords is only valid when the Chancellor presides from the woolsack, several noblemen had to be sent to demand the Great Seal. They found him ill in bed, and he hid his face with one hand while he delivered the Seal to them with the other. He was too ill to attend at the House, and hoped that in his absence the King would prevent the sentence from being pronounced. "I will present your Majesty with a bribe," he wrote to James, "for if your Majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present you with a good history of England, and a better digest of laws."

James could not however, save him, and the Lords sentenced him to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, to be imprisoned in the Tower, and to be

CAMEO XIII.

Persecution of Floyd. 1621.

disqualified from holding any public office, and from sitting in Parliament.

The imprisonment, being at the King's pleasure, was very brief; but he was a ruined and broken man. He wrote a good deal, and completed a history of Henry VII. as an instalment of the promised history of England; but he only survived his disgrace five years, dying of a fever in 1626.

The next act of the Commons was to fall upon an unfortunate Edward Floyd, who was already a prisoner in the Fleet for debt. He was a Roman Catholic, and had been heard to rejoice that the Emperor had taken Prague, and that Goodman Palsgrave and Goodwife Palsgrave had taken to their heels. On this, the Commons thought proper to lay upon him a fine of 1,000*l.*, and likewise to sentence him to stand in the pillory in three different places, to which he was to ride with his face to the tail of his horse!

The King, recollecting perhaps how his wife had been wont to call her daughter Goody Palsgrave, sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer the next day to thank the Commons for their zeal, but to beg them to re-consider whether they had any right to sentence a person, who had not offended against any member of Parliament, or indeed to condemn any person at all, without the oath of witnesses, reminding them also that the Commons could not pass sentence without the Lords, and advising them to leave Mr. Floyd's case in his hands.

The Commons would not give in, except that they consulted the Lords, who, to "keep up a good understanding between the Houses," raised the fine from 1,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*, and sentenced the unhappy man to be flogged at the cart's tail from the Fleet to Westminster, to be degraded from the rank of gentleman, and to spend the rest of his days in Newgate. Prince Charles interfered to prevent the whipping, but the rest of this outrageous sentence was carried out.

The King, finding that this was the result of keeping Parliament together, prorogued it, and all it did for the Palatinate besides the small supply at the beginning of the session, was to record in the journals of the Houses their resolution to spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Protestant religion and the Palatinate. The Earls of Essex and Oxford, who had actually been doing what they could in the cause, returned from Germany explaining that nothing would avail but money and men, and these were not to be had in the present state of things.

James gave the Great Seal to John Williams, Dean of Westminster, the first time, since the fall of Wolsey, that the appointment had been held by a clergyman, so that the whole body of lawyers felt themselves defrauded, and were extremely angry.

Williams was the son of a Welsh gentleman near Carnarvon. He had been well educated, and had been brought forward by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Prince Henry had admired his preaching, and, being a man of great ability, he had gradually been promoted, till

CAMEO XIII.
—
Archbishop Abbot's mishap.
1621.

at Westminster he was able to make suggestions to the King and Buckingham, such as showed them that he would be a man to lean upon. He was like one of the old statesmen ecclesiastics born out of his time so far as England was concerned, and also like the old pluralists, for he received the Bishopric of Lincoln without giving up his former preferments, so that he was said to be a whole diocese in one—bishop, dean, canon, and rector.

Just at this time, Archbishop Abbot was visiting Lord Zouche at Bramshill Park, and, according to a custom at which even so strict a Puritan as he was did not scruple, went out to a stag hunt in the park. Some of the keepers exposed themselves dangerously in driving the deer towards the company who were to shoot them, and the Archbishop begged them to be more cautious; but one named Peter Hawkins persisted, and, in shooting at a buck, Abbot pierced the man's arm with his arrow, so as to penetrate an artery. The man bled to death, to the grief and horror of the Archbishop, who at once settled 20*l.* a year, a large sum in those days, on the widow, and for the rest of his life observed Tuesday as a weekly fast.

Abbot was an unpopular man for his grave, stiff manners, and there was an outcry that with blood on his hands he could not discharge his duties, and that all his estate was forfeited to the King. James, however, at once declared that "no blame attached to the Archbishop; an angel might have miscarried in like sort," and sent him a kind message not to fear any damage to his goods or estate.

He had retired in great distress to the almshouses he had built at Reading while the matter was discussed. Williams, Laud, and two more were to be consecrated as bishops, and all except Davenant, the designate of Salisbury, doubted whether to receive the imposition of blood-stained hands.

The King appointed a commission to examine into the matter, and in the Gallican Church the question was treated as a subject of debate by the doctors of theology at the Sorbonne, where the validity of English orders was still undoubted. Chiefly by the influence of Bishop Andrewes, it was agreed that the Primate was guiltless of anything that could interfere with his episcopal orders as temporal head of the Church, but that the King should issue a commission to six bishops to free him from all scandal, and restore him to his authority as Primate. This was done, but Abbot never entirely recovered the shock, and only came forward again on necessity. All this lasted till November, when the Parliament was to meet again. By the advice of Williams, the King had revoked thirty-six of the most objectionable monopolies by his own authority, and had done what he could to facilitate trade.

But the English had been much angered at the result of an expedition made against the pirates of Algiers. James had sent Sir Robert Mansell to burn their vessels in their own harbour, but had only been able to fit out eight ships, and these had been so insufficient that only two

CAMEO XIII.

Prosecution of Coke. 1621.

Moorish vessels had been destroyed. The pirates in their rage specially attacked English ships, and in the year 1621 had captured thirty-five merchantmen. The Commons were very angry, and cast all the blame on the King, forgetting that they themselves kept him short of supplies.

Moreover, there was reason to think that Sir Edward Coke, who had been so violent against Bacon, was no better himself. A prosecution had been begun against him, and likewise against Sir Edward Sands, who had spoken violently against the Government during the former session. All this made the Commons exceedingly angry, and the first thing they did was to arrest the accusers of Coke, and try to establish the fact of a conspiracy against him. Moreover, they presented a petition against the growth of Popery, declaring that the English Romanists were encouraged by the report of a marriage between their Prince and the Infanta, that they flocked to mass, and sent their children to be educated beyond sea, on which they grounded a request that the Prince should have a Protestant wife, that the laws against recusants should be put in force, and that their children should be taken from them to be bred up as Protestants.

James was exceedingly displeased. He considered that the Commons were interfering where they had no concern at all, and there was an interchange of angry messages till Christmas drew nigh, when he dissolved Parliament. Before separating, the Commons recorded in their journal a protest that they had full freedom of speech and complaint without being liable to punishment; but James, sending for the book, tore the Protest out with his own hand. Moreover, he committed the Earls of Oxford and Southampton to the Tower, and Coke and others of the Commons to the Fleet, though only for a short time.

Though no help had been obtained for his daughter, James thought he had maintained his Royal prerogative and the rights of the Crown as fully as Louis XIII. when dismissing the States-General. In France Albert de Luynes had kept the power he had gained by Concini's murder, and had patched up a peace with the Queen-Mother; but the kingdom was in an uneasy, turbulent condition. Louis had engaged to restore Catholicism in Béarn, which Queen Jeanne, his grandmother, had made completely Calvinist; but the little county had a constitution of its own, and refused to submit. Louis XIII. led an army to Pau, and made all give way before him; the cathedral was purified, and mass restored there; but no sooner had he turned his back than the Béarnese revolted, and most of the Huguenots of France prepared to rise on their behalf.

Siege was laid to Montauban, one of their chief towns of security, and Louis went thither in person with Luynes, whom he had made Constable, the Duke de Lesdiguières, who had joined the Church, and the old head of the League, Mayenne, who was killed in an attempt at an assault. Luynes demanded an interview with the Calvanist leader, the Duke de Rohan, and tried to draw him over to

CAMEO XIII.
Siege of Montauban. 1622.

the Royal party by promises of promotion, but in vain; he would accept no favour that did not include all his fellows. Winter was coming on, and it was necessary to raise the siege. Louis consented with tears in his eyes, and the Constable, by way of consolation, took him to besiege a little place called Mouhem, which easily surrendered. But there was an epidemic in the army. Luynes fell ill, and in three days' time his career was cut short by death. The King showed no grief, having felt his yoke press heavily; but Louis had no mind for business, and the real power was disputed between the Queen-Mother and the Prince of Condé; but Marie, being advised by Richelieu, was on the whole, the better manager of the two.

Lesdiguières was made Constable, and was the last to hold that high office, the chief that a subject could hold. Montpellier was besieged, and Rohan purchased peace by surrendering it on condition that the Edict of Nantes was again guaranteed; but by this time the Huguenots had lost all their strongholds except Rochelle and Montauban, and every earnest Catholic, as well as every statesman, longed to see them extinguished; indeed, it is startling to see the pitiless way in which pious and upright men viewed them as merely rebels alike against Heaven and man.

The past year, 1621, had seen the death of Philip III. of Spain, a man more indolent than wanting in ability, as indeed there were some who suspected him of being the real author of the marvellous romance of Don Quixote; but he had left everything to his minister, the Duke of Lerma, so that wits called him Lerma's big drum, because he did nothing but proclaim the minister's orders. At last, however, he was induced to break with his favourite and dismiss him from office, though with every mark of favour. After the change, the King fell into the melancholy apathetic state to which all the family were subject, and he was only forty-three when he died, as it was said, of an illness brought on by sitting close to a large fire. The servant whose business it was to move the King's chair was absent, and it was not etiquette for any one else to do it, and probably his own lethargic state prevented him from changing his place.

His death gave fresh hopes to James I. of the coveted Spanish marriage, for Philip, III. had been personally averse to sending his daughter to England, being afraid of her being induced to embrace the religion of the country, and remembering perhaps the fate of Katherine of Aragon. His son, Philip IV. might be easier to deal with than his minister the Count Duke of Olivares. Digby, now Earl of Bristol, was ambassador in Spain, and to smooth the way, James sent George Gage with a letter to Gregory XV., and on his death, in 1621, another to his successor, Urban VIII., not saying anything about the marriage, but endeavouring to make terms, offering that if the Pope would expel the Jesuits from England he would never punish a Roman Catholic without communicating with the Pope. The letter itself has not been discovered, but Prince Charles sent an account

of the contents to Buckingham. Charles tells his friend that the King "omits to put in *Romanos* after *Catholicos*," adding, "Now, ye know my father has ever stood upon it, both by word and writing, that he is as good a Catholic as the Pope himself, therefore, since they take to themselves the style of Catholic Roman, let them book it, he will not scant them a syllable of it."

In the meantime James offered pardons to all the Popish recusants who would apply for them, and sent directions to the judges on circuit to release all such as would give security for their reappearance. Thousands were thus set free, to the rage and indignation of the Puritans who were not satisfied with Bishop Williams's explanation that it was only done by way of securing better treatment for the Protestants on the Continent. The pulpits rang with denunciations from men who thought Papists ought to be treated as Baal worshippers were under the Kings of Judah; and the King was obliged to issue an order that no preacher beneath the degree of a dean should deviate from his subject or touch upon Papists at all.

Moreover James and Charles both signed articles guaranteeing that if the marriage should take place, the English Roman Catholics should be entirely freed from persecution, and be permitted to have mass celebrated in their houses, and that the Infanta should have her private chapel and services conducted according to the ritual of her own Church.

The dowry was named by the Spaniards, but there were further debates—how and when the money should be paid, and how long an interval should elapse between the betrothal and marriage. Olivares is reported to have said to Gondomar that if the Prince were at Madrid all would go well, and this may have been reported by some attendant of the Earl of Bristol; or else the Prince and Buckingham devised out of their own heads the wild scheme of going in disguise to see the lady for themselves.

It was also thought that Buckingham wanted to take the management of the affair out of the hands of Bristol, and therefore incited the Prince; but, however that might be, Charles told his father that he had a boon to ask, which he should not disclose until the King should promise him to decide on it entirely himself without advice from any one else. The King became excited, and at last one morning Charles and the Marquess came to his bedchamber, where, falling on his knees, the Prince begged permission to travel *incognito* to Madrid to woo for himself.

The Marquess stood by in silence, and the King seemed less startled than was expected, remembering how he had himself gone to fetch home his wife, and when the Prince argued that he might procure the restoration of the Palatinate to his sister's husband, and Buckingham spoke of the benefits to be obtained, he gave his consent.

But when he thought it over, he was seized with consternation, and when the two friends next came in, he tried to withdraw his promise.

CAMEO XIII.

Journey of Prince Charles. 1623.

They, however, held him fast, and told him that he could not go back from his word. They meant to withdraw from the Court in two days' time, Charles under pretext of hunting at Theobalds, the Marquess of going through a course of medicine at Chelsea; and that they intended only to take two gentlemen with them—Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter, who were both well aquainted with Spain. The King then sent for Cottington, who was in waiting at the time but had had no warning of the plan.

"He will be against the journey," whispered Buckingham to the Prince.

"No, Sir, he dare not," returned Charles.

"What think you?" began James as Cottington entered. "Here are Babie Charles and Steenie have a mind to go post to Spain to fetch home the Infanta. As an honest man, what think you?"

Cottington trembled so that he could hardly speak, but said he thought the scheme imprudent, on which the King threw himself on his bed, and began to cry, saying he should lose Babie Charles: "I told you so, and I told you so before, I am undone!"

Buckingham then began hotly to abuse poor Sir Francis, telling him that he should repent his presumption as long as he lived, on which the King interfered—

"Ye are much to blame to use him so," he said; "he answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely."

However, James never could stand against Buckingham, and yielded.

So on the 17th of February, 1623, the two friends took leave of the King, sending Cottington and Porter on to Dover to provide for their passage, while they themselves slept at New Hall, a house of Buckingham's. There they put on false beards, and disguised themselves as private gentlemen, calling themselves John Brown and Tom Smith. They set out on horseback only attended by Sir Richard Graham, the Marquess's master of the horse. They crossed the river at Gravesend, and imprudently gave a gold piece to the ferryman, so that they were thought suspicious characters, and had a narrow escape of being arrested at Rochester. Riding up the hill beyond the city, they beheld the King's coach bringing the French ambassador, and made their post hackneys leap the hedges to avoid meeting them. They were actually called before the Mayor at Canterbury, but Buckingham took off his beard and told who he was. Thus they reached Dover, and took ship, crossing safely to France.

There they rode post to Paris, where they spent a whole day, unsuspected by any one, except one maid, who had seen the Prince in London. They obtained admission among the crowd to the hall of the Louvre, where a ballet was being rehearsed by the Royal family, all of them very young. The Duke of Montbazon, the Royal chamberlain, seeing that they were Englishmen of rank, gave them good places, where, as Charles wrote to his father, "we saw the young Queen of

France, little Monsieur, and Madame Royale at the practising of a masque, and in it danced the Queen and Madame, with as many as made up nineteen fair dancing ladies, amongst whom the Queen of France is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a great desire to see her sister."

Madame Royale meant the only unmarried French Princess, Henriette Marie, a bright dark-eyed creature of fourteen, whom, however, Charles scarcely looked at, since he was seeing with the eyes of Buckingham, who conceived an ardent admiration for the dignified and graceful Anne of Austria.

In the correspondence during this journey the King addressed the travellers as "Sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a romance," while they called him in return "Dear Sow, Dad, and Gossip."

The English ambassador, Edward Herbert, elder brother of the poet George, was amazed late at night by a Scotchman named Andrews, who asked him if he had seen the Prince. "What Prince?" "The Prince of Wales!" Andrews then explained, and said that he had been commissioned by the King to follow in the rear of the Prince. Herbert, much astonished and somewhat hurt at having been kept in ignorance, went off at peep of dawn to Puisieux, the Secretary of State, who was still in bed, telling him he had urgent business.

"I know your business as well as you do," was the answer. "Your Prince is on his way to Spain!"

Herbert found that not only was the intended marriage displeasing to the French Court, but that it was suspected that the Prince meant to intrigue with the Huguenots, whereupon he sent a courier bidding the travellers make all speed to the frontier and beware of communication with any of "the religion" on the way.

England meanwhile was much agitated when the object of the Prince's journey had oozed out, loyal people fearing that he would never return at all, and Puritans that he would come back a Roman Catholic. Indeed if Philip IV. had been the second of his name, Charles might have undergone the fate of Philip of Orange. The King sent orders that his safe return should be prayed for in the churches, saying that the clergy were to add nothing, nor prejudicate the object of his journey. The Bishop of London expressed this, that they were to pray that the Prince might safely return and *no more*, and some ministers repeating these words exactly to their congregation caused some amusement.

At Bayonne the travellers were examined, but succeeded in passing the frontier, and on the sixteenth day rode up on two mules to Lord Bristol's door at Madrid in the dark. Tom Smith went in with a portmanteau under his arm, and then sent to call in his companion. They obtained access to the ambassador, who stared as if they had been ghosts, then took the Prince to his bedchamber, and instantly sent off a courier to King James with tidings of their safe arrival. Cottington and Porter had been unable to come on so fast, and appeared the next day,

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At Madrid. 1623.

having gathered up rumours among the Spaniards that some great man was secretly come there travelling—even the King of England himself.

On this, Lord Bristol communicated with Count Gondomar, who came to see the Prince and took Buckingham to Olivares. He came in person, and obtained the next day what Charles called, in writing to his father, a private sight before all the world, a private obligation hidden from nobody, "for there was the Pope's Nuncio, the Emperor's Ambassador, the French, and all the streets filled with guards and other people, the best of the nobility before the King's coach and the rest of the Court behind." "We sat in an invisible coach, because no one was suffered to take notice of it, though we were seen by all the world." The King, Queen, and their brother and sister were in another coach, and after this distant view Olivares came and fetched the Prince in his carriage to a place where Philip was on foot, with his cloak over his face. He leapt into the carriage and the two young men had an interview in which they seem to have been delighted with one another. The King took his sister out for another drive, marked by a blue ribbon on her arm that Charles might see her again, but he was allowed to approach no nearer, as there had been no public presentation, although everything was done for Charles's entertainment in the way of hunting and hawking, and the exhibition of pictures which opened his eyes to the glories of Spanish and Italian art.

Negotiations were going on for a dispensation, but the Pope was holding out for an almost entire surrender of the Anglican Church before he could consent to grant one. However, King James took care that Charles should show what his faith really was, and caused Archbishop Abbot to arrange for the despatch of two chaplains, Doctors Mawe and Wren, with the full fittings of a chapel, including "Altar, fonts, palls, linen coverings, demy carpet, four surplices, candlesticks, tapers, chalices, patens, a fine towel for the Prince, other towels for the household, a traverse of waters for the Communion, a basin and flagons, two copes."

The chaplains took leave of the King at Newmarket. They asked him what they were to do if they met the Host carried through the streets. He said they had better avoid doing so; but, if they did so they must do like the others. Of course he would not have them show irreverence, and they were both High Churchmen, but the Puritans considered bowing to the Host as absolute idolatry, and might have used it against them. The preparations for showing the dignity and Catholicity of the English ritual were in vain, for—perhaps to prevent it—Philip would not assign to Charles a palace where he could have fitted up a chapel, but only assigned him a suite of rooms in the royal abode where he could only have the services privately in his own chamber.

The public entry was made in great state, a canopy being held over the head of Charles as he rode at the King's right hand, and the King conducted him to his very bedchamber. Afterwards he was permitted an interview in which the King, Queen, Infanta, and they all sat on chairs

justly proportioned to their rank, and Lord Bristol acted as interpreter, for though Charles could speak French readily, and it was the Queen's native tongue, it was not etiquette for Spanish royalty to use any language but Castilian, and he could only satisfy himself that Maria Althea was a fine stately, Flemish-looking lady, blue-eyed and fair-haired, with a becoming habit of blushing. Probably the King did speak French in private, for he seems to have got on excellently with his visitor, but no such relaxation was permitted to the ladies.

Numbers of nobles and gentlemen had followed Charles from England, among them—of all people in the world—Archie Armstrong, the King's Scottish jester, who had already played off the stock jest of offering his cap and bells to the King for letting the Prince go, and saying he would give it to the King of Spain in case of a safe return. However, he went himself, and in his fool's coat penetrated everywhere "blowing and blustering, and uttering whatever he chose." Others with less excuse murmured at their entertainment, and jeered at the Spanish dishes and grave demeanour.

Comedies were played before the Court once a week. Lope de Vega was in his prime, and indeed wrote a verse in honour of the Prince, which was sung enthusiastically, though hardly worthy of so great a poet:—

"Carlos Estuardo soy,
Que siendo amor mi guia
Al cielo d'España voy
Per ver estella Maria."

"Charles Stewart am I,
Love guides me from afar,
I come to the Spanish sky
To seek for Maria, my star."

The star might be seen at these comedies, but the King, Queen, and the two Infantes were all interposed between her and Charles, who, as Olivares said, watched her as a cat watches a mouse, and certainly saw more of her than of the play.

Once, however, he did contrive to speak a few words in French to the Queen, but she only ventured to whisper in reply that she must not talk in her own language without leave, which she would try to obtain. The next time she had obtained sanction to speak to him, and her communications justified the prohibition, for she told him the marriage would assuredly be broken off, and in that case she hoped he might marry her sister, the French Princess, and then she added the advice to make no more attempts to address her, since people were always poisoned who showed any gallantry to Queens of Spain. He never had another opportunity, for after this, she was always shut up in a latticed box at the play.

He had certainly not come to Spain to gaze on his star in silence, and hearing that the Infanta was used to go to a summer-house, called the Casa del Campo, in the early morning, to gather May-dew, he set off with Endymion Porter, and, finding that she was in the orchard,

CAMEO XIII.

Conduct of Buckingham.
1623.

scrambled over a high wall and leaped down before her. Taken by surprise, Maria Althea screamed and ran away, and the old Marquess, who was in attendance, fell on his knees and begged the Prince to go away, since his own head would be in danger if he permitted an interview.

The correspondence with the Pope was suddenly ended by the death of Gregory XV. in July, 1623. Cardinal Barberini was elected only eleven days later, and took the name of Urban VIII. He wrote to Charles, offering him a dispensation if he would return to the faith of his forefathers, probably thinking the Prince had been long enough in Spain to be converted. Yet it does not appear that he attended at any of the Spanish services, or gave ear to any arguments, though attempts were made on his suite through the many exiles. Sir Edmund Verney, finding a priest sitting by the sick-bed of one of the Prince's pages, fairly boxed the ears of the dangerous visitor.

The hopes that any steps would be taken for the restoration of the Palatinate melted away, and the Pope on the one hand, and the Spanish Court on the other, became more and more convinced that whatever the English King and his son might wish, their people would never consent to liberty of conscience for the Roman Catholics. There was delay upon delay, and very hard it was to tell what was any one's real purpose or wish. James had made large presents to the Infanta, and prepared a fleet to bring her home, yet when it was proposed to celebrate the marriage at Madrid at once, and send the Princess and her dower to England in the spring, after the promises of toleration to the Romanists had been carried out, he hung back and would have nothing done.

The dispensation did not come, and Charles remembered the Queen's words that there was no serious intention of permitting the marriage, and he became very anxious to get away. Moreover, Buckingham, always a spoilt child, was, when the novelty wore off, perfectly unmanageable in his weariness of the etiquette of Spanish state. The King had made him a Duke, that he might be on a level with the Spanish grandees, but they knew very well that he was only the son of a country knight, and rank conferred was nothing in their eyes compared with inherited nobility. Moreover, he was absolutely devoid of the training in dignity and good breeding that would have fallen to a scion of the old English noble families; and the more he was bored by the formalities of a Court where the King might not move his chair for himself, the more he displayed his familiarity with royalty, lolling about in deshabille in the Prince's room and using all the foolish nicknames for Baby Charles that were the fashion at home, and keeping his hat on even when the Prince was bareheaded.

This disgusted the Spaniards extremely, and Philip began seriously to think that the influence of such a man would be a serious impediment to his sister's peace. Lord Bristol expostulated in vain, and sent warnings home of the mischief that this behaviour was doing, and at the same time, letters from home assured Buckingham that he would lose influence over King James if he did not return to reassert his power.

Charles and the favourite therefore determined to leave Madrid. Charles told Philip that his father required him at home, but gave authority, as soon as the dispensation arrived, to his namesake Don Carlos to espouse the Infanta by proxy. There was a grand leave-taking, and exchange of presents. Charles gave to the Infanta a diamond anchor, to the Queen a pair of earrings, and to the King a jewelled sword-hilt. He received in return many splendid gifts, in especial some fine pictures by Titian and other great Italian masters; also some curiously-worked sedan-chairs. Buckingham had already sent the King a live elephant, four camels, and some of the handsome Spanish asses, and watched for "birds of rare colour to present to her Majesty."

There was a celebrated nun at Carrion of high reputation for sanctity, and Maria Althea gave Charles a letter written with her own hand to deliver to this saintly person; and he then took leave, with as much of the air of a lover as could be shown to a lady kept at such a distance. The King went with the English party to the Escurial, and after several days spent there, Charles proceeded, escorted by Gondomar, had his interview with the nun; and arrived at Sant Andero, where, after being nearly drowned in reaching it, he found himself safely on board an English ship, to his great joy.

He safely arrived at Portsmouth, and was received with bonfires, ringing of bells, and rapturous joy by the people on his way to London, where the King was enchanted to receive him. They seem to have agreed that the whole scheme was a failure. Only a fortnight after Charles's departure, the dispensation from the Pope actually arrived, but in the midst of the preparations for the marriage by proxy, there came a courier from England, declaring that it was not to be proceeded with unless the Palatinate were restored, or at any rate the King of Spain should take up arms for its restoration. Charles had left a letter behind him for Bristol, bidding him take no measures till he heard from England.

Philip, whether he had been sincere or not, felt himself dishonourably treated. All was anger on both sides; the ambassadors were recalled, and James found himself on the brink of his greatest dread, a war with Spain.

CAMEO XIV.

THE RUIN OF THE PALATINATE.

(1621—1624.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.		1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	*Germany.*	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.	1617. Ferdinand III.	1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XIV.

Causes of the Thirty Years' War.

THE Thirty Years' War had fairly begun. It arose from many more causes than the mere attempt of Frederick of the Rhine to gain Bohemia, though that enterprise was the spark which set fire to the train. The fact was, that the Roman Catholic Church had acquiesced tacitly in her losses in Germany during the calm and conciliatory reigns of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., but that she had now recruited her strength and become aggressive, endeavouring to recover the ground that had been relinquished, while the Protestants were determined to resist. They knew that the Emperor Ferdinand II. was an ardent Catholic, and prepared to consider himself as much the champion of his Church as Philip II. had been, and that his main object was to recover those prince bishoprics which had been secularised, and were held by Lutherans who bore the title of Bishop without being in Holy Orders at all.

A hundred years' possession and inheritance made the holders feel as if they had a right to these; and the two leagues, Protestant and Catholic, were full of mutual defiance, But Johann Georg, Elector of Saxony, was jealous of the Elector Palatine, and had not been gratified at his assumption of a crown. Besides, Frederick's Calvinism was almost as displeasing to Lutherans as Romanism itself. So the Protestant Union accepted the assurance of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League, that there was no intention of resuming the secularised bishoprics provided the Protestants kept the peace, and it promised neutrality, so that the advance of Maximilian and Count Tilly into Bohemia was unmolested in the rear.

The Marquis Ambrogio Spinola, an able Italian subject of Spain, was in command of the armies of the Low Countries, in union, of course, with Austria. His presence further overawed the union, and Frederick,

CAMEO XIV.

Ban of the Empire on Frederick. 1621.

as a rebel, was put to the ban of the Empire on January 2nd, 1621, and on the 12th of April a treaty was signed at Mentz, by which the union dissolved itself, and agreed to withdraw the troops that were protecting the Palatinate. Thus it was left to its fate, and the only army that Frederick could reckon as belonging to his cause, was that of Count Mansfeld, who still held two towns in Bohemia, and a regiment of English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, in the Palatinate.

King James was trying to mediate, but would do no more, though he wrote very affectionate letters, which encouraged his daughter and her husband with vain hopes, while they remained at the Hague, and their Flemish neighbours derided them.

At Antwerp a play was acted, in which a courier being asked what succours the Palsgrave would have, replied that he would have a huge army, for the King of Denmark would send him 100,000; the Dutch, 100,000; the King of England, 100,000, and being asked of what these numbers consisted, he replied 100,000 herrings, 100,000 cheeses, and 100,000 ambassadors; of which, in truth, James I. was most liberal, for he had already sent five in two years to Vienna.

Spinola already held the part of the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine. His army, though hostile, was not so terrible as that of Mansfeld, because they had some sort of pay, and were kept in some species of discipline, whereas the bands of the Protestant general received no pay at all, and had to live on what they could seize from the country round, so that they were as terrible to their friends as to their enemies. In fact, the soldiers of the Thirty Years' War were a race apart, such as, it may be hoped, may never be seen again. The gradual change in warfare effected by gunpowder was by this time complete; and the fire of large masses of infantry had become more effective than the charges of knights in heavy armour. In fact, the knight, with his personal attendants, had become a thing of the past, and with him, those golden visions of chivalry, whose decay Cervantes was at this very time showing up in his masterpiece of melancholy irony, *Don Quixote*. It had been knighthood with its code of honour, defective though it were, and often ill-followed, which gave the only softening to warfare. The mercenaries, whether called Free Lances, Free Companions, or Landsknechts, had always been a scourge, happily unknown in England, save under John, but they had swarmed over France all through the Hundred Years' War; the condottieri of Italy had hired out such bands, the German landsknechts and the Swiss infantry had ever since sold their arms and their courage; and in Germany there was no lack of such warriors.

These soldiers were formed in troops or companies, which together made up a regiment. Ten companies of three hundred men apiece was the proper amount for the infantry, but the full number of men was seldom reached; and cavalry regiments were supposed to have from five hundred to a thousand men in them, but they were not thought of nearly so much consequence as the heavy infantry. The modern military titles had come into use. The commander of a regiment received his

CAMEO XIV. — *The Officers.*

commission direct from the crown (*corona*), and therefore was called in Spanish coronel, which in French and thence in English became colonel, though English pronunciation preserved the original r, while the Germans kept to their native tongue, and termed him Oberste. Under him he had his lieutenant-colonel and major, the last being the chief of the captains, so that there might be some one to take the command if the superior officer were killed or wounded.

The captains had a great deal of power, and were supposed to be a sort of fathers to their men, whom they themselves hired and paid with the money received from the colonel (when there was any to receive). The captain rode on the march, but in time of battle went on foot, carrying the same weapon as his soldiers used, whether pike or musket. The lieutenants were ready to take the captain's place in his absence, or to lead the company, in case he were struck down. The ensign had the charge of the banner of the regiment. He was sometimes called the Ancient, as was also the banner. There is a question whether the name was *enseigne* mispronounced, whether it were really ancient and given because of the antiquity of the badge or whether because a strong, tall, powerful man being requisite, he was in those days often one of the veterans, though later custom made the ensigncy the first grade of commissioned officers. There was one general standard for the whole regiment, generally with some allegorical picture painted on it, and each company had its own banner. These banners were of the colours of the regiment, in different combinations, so that each man might know his own, as for instance black and yellow might be in stripes, perpendicular, horizontal, transverse, in squares, in lozenges, and one bordering the other &c., and the regiments, were often called by the names of their banners, not of their uniforms, for these had scarcely come in, except that the officers would wear scarfs of the colour of the cause they espoused.

The banner was solemnly delivered to a new ensign, by the colonel, with the words—

"As your bride or your own daughter, from the right hand to the left; and if both your arms should be shot off, you should take it with your mouth; and if you cannot preserve it thus, wrap yourself therein, commit yourself to God, so to be slain, and die as an honourable man."

This oath was generally admirably kept, and the spirit of it has survived to this very day.

The ensign never quitted the banner without special permission, and always slept close to it, and wherever he bore it in battle, the company was bound to follow. On a march and in camp, no soldier was allowed to roam out of sight of the colours without permission, and to flee from them in battle was death. There was a provost-marshal to each regiment, who acted as accuser before a court-martial of forty men, both officers and soldiers, and if an offence were adjudged worthy of death, the criminal was slain by the weapons of his

CAMEO XIV. — *The Soldiers.*

comrades. There were likewise sergeants and corporals to deal with the men in smaller parties, and a quartermaster, who fixed the places of lodging. In a town or village, the sergeants threw their knives into the quartermaster's hat, and he stuck them into the door-posts of the houses their parties were to occupy. Each band followed the knife of its sergeant. The pay of a soldier was supposed to be sixteen gulden a month, or something like 4*l.*, but out of this he had to supply his own food, clothes, and weapons; and very frequently there was no pay forthcoming from government, or if there were, the paymaster abstracted a large proportion of it on the way to the captain. Thus the only way to keep the men round his banner was for him to let them go out to plunder at night, when he was rewarded by a share of the spoil, taken from the unhappy country people with violence and cruelty that were viewed as a matter of course. Mutinies of course were frequent, and often the officers were attacked, and sometimes even killed. In fact, terror was almost the only thing that availed them to obtain their wage, and often they would rise and demand it when a battle was most imminent.

There was an amazing number of camp followers. No one, except a few of the very highest generals or princes, left his family behind him, and a huge heterogeneous mass of women and children dragged themselves along around the baggage waggons—some of them the wives of the soldiers, some of them wild and lawless beings, and others poor young girls dragged against their will from their homes, all alike an additional army of locusts, who, by very force of necessity, cleared off whatever the soldiers might have left, carrying off not only the cattle and money, but the bedding, furniture, and clothes of the unfortunate peasants, and taking their waggons and beasts to carry them on the march.

The soldiers could be prevented by a determined officer from riding, but the women absolutely could not be hindered from seizing horses, riding on them, or harnessing three or four together to their carts. To 3,000 men there would generally be 4,000 followers, male and female, with 300 waggons full of plunder. Sometimes these creatures, who were little better than harpies, lived in mad revelry of eating and intoxication; at others they were in a horrible state of starvation, poverty, and disease, and were dropped on the way to die unpitied in misery.

A stationary camp was as bad as an army in movement. The centre was orderly enough. There stood the ornamented tents of the general and his principal officers, with barriers around dividing them from the rest. There the general standard was planted, and often a gallows near it, and here the staff and main guard were on duty. Beyond this lay the regiments, the colours of each company at the head of each row of fifty men. The officers had tents, the ensign close to the colours, the lieutenant in the middle, the surgeon in the rear. The men made themselves huts of mud, or branches, or of the materials of cottages ruined for the purpose, and there lodged two or three together, with

CAMEO XIV. — *The Camp.*

their wives, children, and dogs, their weapons planted on the ground outside. There was a wide clear space beyond the huts, then a ditch and palisade, to which the waggons were sometimes fastened, and where field-pieces were stationed for protection, sentinels being posted at the entrances.

Such a camp as this was, for the time, a worse scourge to the neighbourhood than any noble baron's castle, inasmuch as it contained thousands, where that contained tens, of marauders, a word which came into use at this time from the name of Count Merodè, whose band had an evil notoriety for excesses. Corn, hay, cattle, were ruthlessly swept up in an ever-lengthening radius, and it was well for the unhappy peasants if they escaped with their lives, or with their entire families. Within the lines, there was constant tumult, quarrels and violence, and a great deal of gambling. Though the use of dice was forbidden by the regulations, still they were greatly in vogue, and there was much cheating and furious quarrelling, wounds, and murders. Near the officers' tents were the canteens, where the provost regulated the prices, and received perquisites for everything sold, such as the tongue, or its price, of every beast that was killed. The rate at which liquor was sold was chalked on the head of each cask, and the provost took care that when pay came in, the purveyors should have their long tallies settled.

In the midst of all the licence, prayers were read every morning by the regimental chaplain, and there was a service every Sunday at which every one was forced to attend, but there was apparently no idea of morality or self-restraint connected therewith. The officers were in the power of the soldiers, and the soldiers were, if not all savages, forced to ferocity by one another. They had curious superstitions. Whole volumes are extant on the art of rendering the body invulnerable. One means was the wearing of a shirt, the thread of which had been entirely spun by a maiden under seven years old, and afterwards laid secretly on the altar while three masses were said over it. Another was the Gospel of S. John written on thin paper so fine that it could be inclosed in a nutshell or a quill, and similarly laid on the altar during three masses. Other charms were truly horrible, such as receiving the sacred Host with a secret invocation to the devil, or wearing a paper inscribed—

> "Devil help me,
> Body and soul I give thee."

Such a charm as this was held by some only to work for four and twenty hours, while others held that it did not begin to be efficacious till after that space of time. Others put faith in a goat's beard, a wolf's eyes, a bat's head, or a piece of a halter that had hanged a man inclosed in a purse made of the skin of a black cat.

But it was only ordinary shot from which these spells protected the wearer. Silver buttons or bullets, especially those forged from inherited plate, could kill where lead failed. Swords, too, were infallible

if rubbed crosswise with rye-bread baked on an Easter night, and powder compounded with dogs' bones was held to be invincible; but the persons who were known to resort to these practices were feared and disliked by their comrades, who were all for fair play, and in the midst of their unbridled licence had a species of code of honour among themselves, though none to outsiders. Princes, cities, and great abbeys sometimes purchased a *salva guardia* or protection at a huge price from the general for their people, but such papers were of little avail, for the soldiers often would have starved had they regarded them, and the long duration of this most horrible of wars caused the horrors and exhaustion to go on constantly increasing.

Mansfeld was in the Upper Palatinate, with 16,000 men, living upon the inhabitants, who complained bitterly to their unhappy fugitive prince at the Hague, while he could only send entreaties for help to his father-in-law and to Bethlem Gabor. Mansfeld met with some small successes, and so did Sir Horace Vere and his Englishmen. A truce was made with Spinola, but utter destitution of supplies caused Vere to quarter some of his men upon the lands of the Bishop of Spires, with strict injunctions to abstain from violence and pay for everything, but this proceeding made the Spaniards to declare the truce broken, and the treaty which James hoped to arrange at Vienna was frustrated.

James was greatly annoyed. He could not give substantial help, because he could not raise an army without a grant from Parliament, and this he could only obtain by concessions that he would not make; and besides, he never was without the feeling that it was hard on him to be involved in war by Frederick's rash enterprise.

In 1621 the twelve years' truce between Spain and the United Provinces had expired, and the Archduke Albert died in Flanders shortly after. Philip III. was, however, resolved to continue the war. He had an admirable general in Spinola, and he recalled the Spanish troops from Germany to attack Holland; Prince Maurice on his side took up arms, and Frederick joined his army, to the great wrath of his father, who threatened to give him up if he did anything to exasperate the Spaniards. The unfortunate Prince complained on his side that, save for the love he bore her, he had better have married the daughter of a beggar instead of the daughter of the King of England, and declared that his deference to his father-in-law brought him nothing but shame and contempt in Holland.

Meantime Lord Digby, finding that nothing could be done at Vienna, came home, and on his way through the Palatinate persuaded Mansfeld still to adhere to the cause of Frederick, and to come to the aid of Heidelberg, which was in daily expectation of being besieged by Tilly, and in a miserable condition. Digby pawned his own plate to procure supplies, declaring that if his King would not repay the sum he would rather lose it all than see the subjects of his master's daughter perish.

CAMEO XIV.

Christian of Brunswick. 1621.

Meantime the Spaniards proposed that peace should be purchased by Frederick's giving up his eldest son to be educated at Vienna, but for this the Prince was far too staunch a Protestant.

And after the winter of 1621-2 the war was renewed, with better hopes than hitherto. His newly-born little daughter, Louisa Hollandina, had all the states of Holland for her godmother; and Calvinists, Arminians, Anglicans, and Roman Catholics were all present at her christening, which was esteemed a favourable omen of reconciliation.

One of her godfathers was Christian of Brunswick, a younger brother of the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel. His position was the secularised Bishopric of Halberstadt, into which he had been inducted when a mere boy. The *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral, four canons led him to the high altar, while the choir sang "O Lord, save Thy people." He responded, "O Lord, save thy servant," and was placed *upon* the altar while a hymn of praise was sung. A sermon was afterwards preached, and he was acknowledged ruler of the land, but merely as a secular prince. No one thought of his exercising any ecclesiastical function. He was every inch a soldier, and was devoted heart, soul, and body to the Queen of Bohemia, who fascinated him by her beauty, sweetness, and distress.

He was only twenty-one, and no general, but was as brave as a lion. He constantly wore her glove in his helmet, swore to shed the last drop of his blood in her service, and took for his motto "*Für Gott und für sie.*" The clumsy French equivalent "*Tout pour Dieu et pour ma chère reine*" is still to be seen, in his own handwriting in an album now in the British Museum. He was called the Mad Brunswicker, and, in spite of his chivalry, was a terrible plunderer, never sparing even the poor peasants. Another ally was the Markgraf of Baden Durlach, and if these two could be got to act in concert with Mansfeld, Tilly might be out-numbered and beautiful Heidelberg yet be saved. Frederick joined Mansfeld's army, but there he was incessantly tormented by James's orders that he should not appear in arms, and at last, most unwillingly, he went to his uncle, the Duke of Bouillon, at Sedan, much to the inconvenience of that noble, for there was danger of the Spanish army, under Cordova, pursuing him thither, and the armies of Christian and of Mansfeld were almost as dangerous as the enemy itself, while the French army, under the Duke of Nevers, marched into the poor little principality to secure his allegiance. Nor would the King of England give him any help, and at last Frederick was obliged to dismiss both the Brunswicker and Mansfeld, telling them they were free to serve any other prince. Peace seemed likely to be made at this moment, but these two generals were determined to continue the war, Christian from generous devotion to Elizabeth, Mansfeld from love of importance and command; or perhaps each was influenced by something of the spirit of the other.

Their armies had devoured Alsace, and now entered Lorraine, which they consumed in the same manner. A French army was sent to keep them out of the kingdom, and they began to mutiny; but just at this time,

CAMEO XIV.

Wreck of Heidelberg: 1622.

the summer of 1623, they received an invitation to hire themselves for three months to the Dutch, who were good paymasters. The Dutch were themselves in difficulties. The Marquis Spinola had taken Juliers and was besieging Bergen-op-Zoom, and the two generals were called upon to relieve it, but as they were in Lorraine, this could only be done by marching through the Spanish Netherlands.

Cordova intercepted them at Fleurus on the 28th of August, and on the eve of battle two of Mansfeld's regiments broke into mutiny, refusing to fight without the pay he had not to give them. He rode up to them and implored them, if they would not fight, at least to keep their ranks and look as if they meant to do so. Then, he charged the enemy with his infantry, Christian with his cavalry. Three horses were shot under "the Mad Brunswicker," and his left arm was shattered, but he kept the saddle till the victory was gained, and while his arm was being cut off, caused trumpets to be sounded before him. He sent word to his beloved Queen that he had still an arm and a life at her service, and he coined money out of the captured Spanish plate with the motto *Altera restat.* His sister, the Countess of Nassau, went to nurse him at Breda, much cheered by a prophecy that had foretold a desperate wound in a battle, in his twenty-second year, but subsequent glory and success.

Mansfeld marched on and raised the siege of Breda, but his wild disorderly troops were no convenient allies for the well-trained Dutch, thoroughly disciplined under Maurice's strong hand. He was paid off, and after trying in vain to enter the Prince Bishopric of Münster and live at free quarters there, he betook himself to East Friesland, where he forced the hitherto prosperous inhabitants to maintain his wolfish pack.

Heidelberg, now hopeless of all aid, surrendered to Tilly on the 16th of September, 1623, and the castle, the Trotz Kaiser, a few days later. The soldiers were allowed to march out with the honours of war, but not to take anything that had belonged to the unfortunate King and Queen, the whole of whose personal property was thus the prize of the enemy. The splendid collection of books, brought together by many generations of Pfalzgrafen, was carried to Munich, whence Maximilian of Bavaria sent a large portion to the Vatican, packed on mules with the following label: "*Sum de Bibliothecâ quam Heidelbergæ captâ, spolium fecit, et P. M. Gregorii XV., trophæum misit Maximilianus, utriusque Bavariæ dux S. R. I. Archidapifer et Elector.*"

Frankenstadt was yielded, Mannheim also fell, and Frederick, now utterly landless, was escorted from Sedan to Calais, and thence returned by sea to the Hague, where his wife met him with ecstasy at his own safe return, though he had lost everything.

Maximilian had called himself Elector, for the dignity was transferred to him. James negotiated, of course, and recalled Sir Horace Vere and his English troops. Indeed, while the Prince of Wales was in Spain, James was less inclined than ever to provoke hostilities. Christian of Brunswick was again defeated on the 8th of August, 1624, and it seemed

CAMEO XIV. — *The Huguenots.*

as if submission would be imperative, and that for a time there was a lull in the tempest.

The Huguenots were in the meantime losing ground in France The most able statesmen of his time, Cardinal Armand de Richelieu, was guiding the Queen Mother, Marie de Medici, and her influence had for the time prevailed over the King. Richelieu was too great a man to be a persecutor. He wished to make France united and powerful, and he saw that the only chance of making the two parties live at peace together was to put an end to the jealousies excited by the possession of the cities intrusted as pledges of security to the Huguenots. There was open war going on. Louis XIII. and the Prince of Condé returned in 1622 to the siege of Montpellier, which held out desperately. The Duke of Rohan went to England to intreat for aid, but in vain, and when all hope was over he obtained permission to enter the city, where he persuaded the people to surrender, on condition of being allowed freedom of worship, keeping up their university, and being exempted from having a royal garrison among them. Peace was again made, and the Huguenots still kept Rochelle and Montauban.

In 1622 Cardinal de Richelieu was admitted as one of the King's privy council, and soon was the only real ruler of France. The Court quarrelled and intrigued about the King, but the Cardinal sat, as it were, above and out of reach of them all, and directed everything both at home and abroad. His object, like that of Henri IV., was to make the crown powerful at home and France supreme abroad ; and in order to weaken the house of Austria he threw the influence of his country into the scale of the Protestants of Germany, without as yet taking up arms.

Thus too he encouraged the Dutch in their resistance to the Spaniards. Maurice was commanding them, but his treatment of the Arminians had rendered him unpopular, and the sons of Barneveldt plotted against his life. They were discovered ; one was put to death and the other escaped, but Maurice met with little sympathy. Spinola out-generalled him, and Philip IV. and his minister Olivares had high hopes. Philip sent the following orders in 1624—

"Marquis,
Take Breda
I the King."

Breda was actually a possession of the Orange family, and Maurice was doubly anxious to save it, but the Dutch hung back from him ; and though James I., in his anger at the breaking off of the Spanish match, made promises of help, no one trusted much to them, and Maurice fell into a gloomy, hopeless state of low spirits. The town was still holding out, though he could not relieve it, when he died in utter despondency at the age of sixty, leaving his principality to his brother, Frederick Henry, in the April of 1625 ; and in June, Breda, after holding out for ten months, capitulated to the Spaniards.

CAMEO XV.

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

(1624—1626.)

England. 1603. James I		*France.* 1610. Louis XIII.
Spain. 1621. Philip IV.	*Germany.* 1617. Ferdinand III.	*Rome.* 1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XV.
—
The Parliament summoned, 1624.

THE Palatinate was lost to King James's daughter, and the Spanish marriage had failed for his son; the King was angered, and Buckingham, who had resumed all his ascendency, was still more set against the whole House of Austria. The Privy Council, especially the Lord Treasurer Cranfield and the Lord Keeper Williams, who had hoped to overthrow the duke in his absence, were obliged to make the best apologies in their power. Williams went so far as to beg the favourite to receive his soul in gage and pawn; and obtained the haughty answer, "I will not seek your ruin, though I shall cease to study your fortune."

The nation was, as usual, eager to sustain the cause of their princess, and as this was impossible without supplies, James ventured again to summon a Parliament. The duke had taken a Puritan chaplain named Preston, and through him came to an understanding with the chief lords of that party, Southampton, Saye and Sele, and some of the Commons, and it was agreed that the duke should surrender some of his dependants whose rapacity had angered the country, and that he should join the war party, while the Commons assured him that supplies should be granted.

The meeting of Parliament was postponed for a week by the sudden death of the Lord Steward, the Duke of Richmond, who, as Lennox, had been the King's friend and companion from his youth up. Williams preached his funeral sermon, with the text—"Zabul, the son of Nathan, was principal officer and the king's friend."

The session began with a speech from the throne, in which James related, from his own point of view, all his negotiations concerning his

CAMEO XV.
Disputes.
1624.

son-in-law's domains and his son's marriage, declaring that, though he had sometimes permitted relaxation of the penal statutes, he had never dispensed with any, nor intended to alter any, that concerned religion. He ended by bidding the members follow S. Paul's advice to beware of genealogies and curious questions, nor let any stir them up to law questions, debates, quirks, tricks, and jerks. Lord Keeper Williams then followed—"A Lacedæmonian being invited to hear a man that could counterfeit very well the notes of a nightingale, put him off with these words, *αὐτὴς ἠκούσα*, 'I have heard the nightingale herself.' And why should you be troubled with the croaking of a Chancellor that have heard the words of a most eloquent King?"

After more of the same style of compliment he bade the Commons choose a Speaker, when they elected Serjeant Crowe. Numerous petitions were presented by the Commons against the Lords Treasurer and Keeper, but they were not followed up, and Buckingham told the story of the Spanish match in his own way, not venturing to allude to despatches, lest they should be called for and found to contradict him. He made out that it was all the fault of the Spaniard's double-dealing that the affair had been broken off, and that public spirit had taken himself and the prince to Madrid, as the only means of discovering the real design of the Spanish court, and that they returned when it proved that there was no chance of obtaining the restitution of the Palatinate, or indeed anything but false professions. The prince vouched for his accuracy, and Lord Bristol, who might have explained the matter in an inconvenient manner, was confined to his house by an order from the council.

The Spanish ambassadors were, however, greatly offended, and declared that if one of their own countrymen had so spoken of a great king at amity with their sovereign, he would have paid the forfeit with his head. The two houses of Parliament, however, defended the duke, declaring that his speech denounced the acts of the ministers of the King of Spain, not himself. Sir Edward Coke called Buckingham the saviour of his country, and the people hooted the Spanish ambassadors, and lit bonfires for joy at the breaking off of the treaty with the nation whom they hated.

The Parliament declared that the negotiations with Spain could not be continued with honour, and the whole cry of the nation was for war; but James was still unwilling. He had loved and followed peace all his days; he viewed the quietness of his reign as one of his resemblances to Solomon, and dreaded war with so powerful a nation with all the nervous timidity of his character.

The Spaniards laughed the war to scorn, for they believed, on Gondomar's authority, that it would be revolt of mice against cats, for there were no men in England, the King was timid, and the prince weak and inexperienced.

However, James told the Commons that the war should begin if they would grant him supplies, for his treasury was empty, his navy decayed,

his allies poor; and he added that the sums raised should be intrusted to commissioners appointed by themselves, so that they should be satisfied that all was rightly applied.

Yet, when Archbishop Abbot brought him an address promising the grant, and congratulating him on having his eyes opened to the Spanish insincerity, he broke in, declaring that he had expressed no opinion. Buckingham had made a narration from which they might judge, but he had not declared what he thought of it. In fact he wanted to be able, in case of need, to protest that he had been forced unwillingly into the war, and he must have known, at the bottom of his heart, that Buckingham was the last person who should have complained of Spanish double-dealing.

Still, the ambassadors had not left England, though they could not succeed in having a private interview with the King. Just as a Crusade always began with a persecution of the Jews, so a war with Spain was sure to lead to severities on the Romanists, and with more reason, since every Papist was assumed to be naturally on the side of the enemy, and though many were loyal and patriotic, it was really by an inconsistency on their part. The mission priests were banished on pain of death, the Lord Mayor was charged to arrest all persons coming from mass in the houses of the ambassadors, and James consulted his Bishops on the means of educating the children of Roman families in the Anglican doctrine. The Commons proceeded to draw up lists of all the persons holding office in their several towns and counties whom they suspected of Popery, thirty-six in number, and drew up a petition for their removal. But the Lords objected that this petition condemned the persons named without evidence, and therefore they could not concur in it, so it was only given privately to the Prince to lay before the King, and no more was heard of it.

Besides this, the Parliament wished to impeach the Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams, and Lionel Cranfield, the Lord Treasurer, now Earl of Middlesex, both of whom Buckingham held to have poisoned the King's ear against him during his absence in Spain. Williams had made his peace, but Middlesex was to be surrendered. The King was unwilling to consent, but was drawn on by the Prince and Duke. Middlesex was tried without being permitted counsel, and being found guilty, his sentence was pronounced by his late associate Williams. It was the forfeiture of all his offices, banishment from court, and a fine of 50,000*l.* The King, when the sentence was reported to him, told Buckingham that he was furnishing a rod for his own back, and the prince that he would have his bellyful of impeachments. Williams, however, conferred a benefit on all future state prisoners, by inducing the Lords to pass a resolution that they should henceforward be allowed counsel to plead for them, and have copies of the depositions against them.

Williams and Buckingham were soon making common cause again. One of the Spanish ambassadors named Ynojosa, brother-in-law to the

CAMEO XV.

Supposed Plot. 1625.

Count Duke of Olivares, contrived at an audience to give the King a little billet, which James slipped into his pocket, and which told him that he was a prisoner in his own palace, and that François Carandolet, Archdeacon of Cambrai, the Flemish secretary, had much to reveal to him, only it must be in private.

Accordingly Carandolet was smuggled into the palace while the Prince and the favourite were out, and James was pathetically warned of the ruin they were bringing on him. After several visits of this kind, the Fleming brought a paper, telling James that he was no more free than King John of France had been in London, or Francis I. at Madrid, and that the ambassadors knew that he was soon to be shut up in a country house while the government was put into other hands. The Duke, having reconciled himself to the country party, intended to marry his daughter to the young heir of the Palatinate who stood next in the succession after Charles, and the country was now governed by a triumvirate, whereof Buckingham was the chief member, Charles the second, and James the last, all looking towards *solem orientem*. The King was therefore advised to show himself, as he really was, the oldest and wisest monarch in Christendom, by cutting off such a dangerous affecter of popularity.

James was very loth to believe such things of Baby Charles and Steenie, though he allowed that Buckingham had changed since his journey to Spain, and seemed to have he knew not how many devils in him; but finally he declared that if the Spaniards could find any definite charge, the Duke should be proceeded against.

His manner, however, betrayed his uneasiness, and the prince and duke were very anxious, especially when James suddenly set off to Windsor, taking his son with him, but forbidding Buckingham to follow, though the favourite knelt at the coach door and implored to be told his offence, and then withdrew to Wallingford House, where he lay like one stupefied. Thus he was found by the Lord Keeper, who gave him some hope.

Meanwhile, James wept all the way to Windsor, complaining that he was forsaken and betrayed by those nearest and dearest to him. The Prince could not discover much of what thus affected his Majesty, but what he did perceive made him ride back to London in the morning, and finding Williams at the House of Lords before prayers, took him aside, acknowledged his past services, and said, "You may receive greater thanks of us both if you will spread open that back contrivance which hath lost him the good opinion of my father, and I myself am in little better condition."

"The curtain of privacy is drawn before the picture, so that I cannot guess at the colours," returned the Lord Keeper.

"Well, my Lord Keeper," said the Prince, "I expected better service from you, for if *that* (probably meaning the House of Lords) is the picture drawer's shop, no councillor in the kingdom is better acquainted than yourself with the works and workmen."

CAMEO XV.

Quarrel between the King and Duke.
1625.

"I might have been," said the Keeper, "and I am in pangs to know what misshapen creature they are drawing."

He then disclosed that he knew that Carandolet had seen the King in private, and let Charles know that he had discovered that the secretary was in the habit of visiting a lady in Mark Lane, clever and witty, but ready on the bribe of a piece of plate to disclose all the intelligence she could worm out of Carandolet to the emissaries of Bishop Williams. But as it was doubtful whether all could be extracted by these means, Williams next caused to be arrested a Roman Catholic priest, one of those who only existed in England on sufferance, and whom he knew to be an intimate friend of Carandolet. This brought the secretary to intercede for the prisoner, and the cunning Bishop made the price of release the explanation of all the secret dealings with the King.

Armed with this confession, and with a paper in which he had given an answer to all the charges, Williams repaired to the Prince, and advised that he and the Duke should take care that the King was never left to himself, but that one or other of them should always be with him.

They watched their opportunity and gave him the memorial, which he read deliberately saying, "Weel," "vera weel," at every pause, and at last he embraced both of them, lamenting that he had lent an ear to foreign misrepresentations; but he bade them tell him who was their "engineer that struck the sparks out of the flint to light the candle?"

Charles would not speak, but stood by while the Duke disclaimed all knowledge of the author of the paper. "Weel," said the King, "I have a good nostril and will answer mine ain question. The Lord Keeper had the main finger in it. I dare swear he bolted the flour and made it up into paste."

James then seemed satisfied, but Charles learnt that he intended to make further interrogations, and wrote a note to "Steenie" warning him how best to deal with them. "I cannot think," he says, "that any man is so mad as to call his own head in question by making a lie against you, when all the world knows me to be your true friend." He therefore advised the Duke not to oppose the King, since in this lay the only real danger.

The King actually appeared on Sunday in the Council Chamber with a Bible in his hand, made all take an oath on it to answer him truly, and then examined them as to whether they knew of any designs of the Duke. They all declared themselves perfectly ignorant of any conspiracy, and Buckingham showed himself extremely hurt, and took to his bed; while the King was very unhappy and called on the Spanish embassy to produce the names of those who had slandered his son and his most faithful servant.

Ynojosa declared that he would only do this in a private interview with the King, but when the Prince and Duke prevented such a meeting, he demanded a ship to carry him home. There the English ambassador was already accusing him of intriguing and making mischief; to which

CAMEO XV.

The Dutch in India. 1619.

he replied that Carandolet had spoken nothing but the truth, and that there were many Englishmen who could prove it if they were not afraid of Buckingham and Charles. There is reason to think that the informant of Carandolet was James's old favourite, Robert Carr, Duke of Somerset, who would naturally look on his successor as a sort of tyrant, and the King as a captive, though he had hitherto been a perfectly willing one.

This intrigue was, however, a shock to James's confidence, and he did not like the being hurried into a war even for his daughter's sake. All the change of policy was the very contrary to the predilections of his life. He had always admired the House of Austria and disliked the German and Dutch Protestants, and here were his son, his favourite, and his Parliament dragging him into an alliance with all these detested rebels, as he regarded them in his heart, and driving him to make war with the Emperor and King of Spain.

The Dutch, too, had outraged English feeling. They were masters of the seas, and had very large colonies all through the Archipelago eastward of India, in the fertile islands of Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas, and they held the trade in the spices, after which they had named these isles, almost as a monopoly, being extremely jealous of all interference. The isle of Amboyna was regarded by them as entirely theirs, although some part of it was still held by the natives. In 1612 the English East India Company tried to form a little settlement at Cambello, on this island, but were forced to give it up. In 1619 a treaty was concluded in London by which the English held themselves permitted to trade with the natives, and a small factory was again formed in Amboyna. But the sullen Dutch vindictive spirit was roused in the local government whose centre was at Batavia, and there was great hatred and jealousy of the English. A Japanese soldier in the Dutch service chanced one evening to make close inquiries of a sentinel as to the strength of the fort, probably only following his national character for intelligent curiosity, but a Dutch officer, who heard him, took alarm lest there should be some treasonable design, and had the unhappy man tortured till he confessed whatever was put into his mouth. A Portuguese was treated in the same manner, but the English knew nothing of what was going on, until a man named Abel Price being seized and thrown into prison for some tipsy threats, saw the Japanese groaning after the torture, and was told that unless he himself made full confession of the wicked English plans the man had disclosed, worse sufferings were reserved for him. The wretch in his terror, hoping to escape the rack, assented to all the questions asked him. There were twenty Englishmen and about thirty Japanese in the island, and these, it was said, meant to murder the 200 Dutch soldiers in their strong fort, besides the sturdy settlers, and seize the island. Price actually allowed the truth of this story, whereupon all the English in the factory were called into the town. They came, unsuspecting, and were instantly put into irons, while all their goods, chests, and papers were seized.

CAMEO XV.
The Massacre of Amboyna. 1623.

Then one by one they were put to a frightful torture, first by the rack, then being drenched with water to almost absolute bursting. If this did not overcome them fire was applied to their hands and feet. One, named Colson, held out till he was believed to say something, but he was past uttering clearly. Another, called Griggs, agreed to everything, asking forgiveness from Heaven the moment he was released, but most of them seem to have endured till their senses forsook them. Thereupon the whole were declared guilty, and beheaded, except four, who were spared at the intercession of some Dutch merchants.

The news reaching Jacatra in Java, where there was a strong English settlement under an agent named Welden, he immediately went to Amboyna, where he was joined by the few remaining English. He obtained an account of the dying protestations of the tortured and murdered men, and then demanded an explanation from the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, who of course justified his countryman, declaring him to have full powers from the States, and to have thus acted from mere necessity. This nobody believed, and it may be remarked that though the Dutch seized all the papers and accounts of the unfortunate factory, they never published a single one giving the slightest intimation of the alleged plot. Everybody knew that the deed had been done to frighten the English merchants away from the Spice islands. When the truth was known in England, James heartily abused the Dutch, and no doubt hoped he should be freed from his distasteful allies, but the States did not want to quarrel with England; they made promises of redress, and indeed actions done in the colonies seldom had much effect on home policy. However, the massacre of Amboyna remained a proverb of horror among English seamen. It is referred to by Defoe in *Robinson Crusoe* full half a century later, and it did much towards changing the old enthusiasm for the Dutch into fierce animosity.

At the present time, however, the Dutch were looked on as the friends of the Palatinate, and an alliance was formed with *Holland*, Sweden, Denmark, and the Protestant league in Germany against Austria and Spain. France, Venice, and Savoy all took up the same cause, though less openly, since they could not profess to support Protestantism against the great Catholic power.

Meanwhile, poor Elizabeth at the Hague was in doleful trouble for money. She begged, on hearing that her father was going to send her a pearl necklace, that she might have its value. She could not pay her house rent, and even more piteously declared, when her little son Louis died that she knew not where to bury him. She had almost sent him to be laid by his grandmother in Westminster Abbey, but he finally found a resting-place at Delft among the Princes of Orange. Her knight, Christian of Brunswick, too, was suspected of a deed of which she was much ashamed. Two of his officers snapped up a rich citizen of Hamburg, whom they carried off to East Friesland, and forced to give them an order for 9,000 rix dollars on his brother at Amsterdam.

CAMEO XV.
Proposal to Henrietta Maria.
1624.

Elizabeth had just been begging that, to make up for the loss of his Bishopric, Christian might receive the order of the Garter and half the pension which had been granted to her son, but she now begged that election to the Most Noble Order should be deferred till he had cleared himself of all share in the free-booting transaction. Her letter came too late; he was already elected, and he scarcely thought it worth while to take notice of such a trifle as fleecing a fat merchant, though he made some slight apology.

Her other hero, Count Mansfeldt, went first to France and then to England. He was wrecked on the passage and escaped in the long-boat. King James was not very willing to receive him, but he obtained a promise of 20,000*l.* a month, and raised 12,000 men to join his army of French and German mercenaries. Not being allowed to pass through France, he took them all to Zeeland, where the crowded state of the marshy spot generated disease, and 5,000 men died in a very few weeks before he could lead them to the Rhine, where he could only remain on the defensive.

King James was distressed at the war, well knowing that it could only succeed by means of a great European alliance with France and Holland. The Duke of Buckingham had been bent on the scheme of wedding Charles to a French princess ever since the rupture of the Spanish courtship. The glimpse that the prince had had of the young "Madame," as she was called, had pleased him, and her sister, the Queen of Spain, had further spoken of her to him. He had been bred up so as not to share his brother Henry's scruples as to a Roman Catholic marriage, and was eager for the match. So Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, was despatched to demand the young princess's hand.

Henriette Marie de Bourbon had been born on the 25th of November, 1609, and was only five months old when her father was murdered. She was carried by her nurse, Madame de Montglat, to the funeral, and made to sprinkle holy water on the corpse, and at ten months old she was held in the arms of the beautiful young Princess of Condé at the coronation of her brother, Louis XIII.

She was brought up chiefly at Blois and Fontainebleau under the care of Madame de Montglat, and her religious instruction was chiefly guided by a Carmelite nun called Mère Magdelaine, but very little attention was paid to solid education. Learning had gone out of fashion at Court; it was too serious, too like the Calvinists, and Henriette was only taught to be very accomplished, and to sing and dance to perfection. Her appearance is well known. She was delicately featured, dark-eyed, dark-haired, with a small, slight figure, well-made hands, and great ease, grace, and vivacity, and the new simple mode of wearing the head uncovered, with little curls on the brow, suited her admirably.

She was only fifteen when Lord Kensington arrived with the proposal of marriage. While the preliminaries to the formal offer were being gone through, everybody questioned the ambassador about his

CAMEO XV.
James's Courtship. 1624.

Prince, and all the ladies begged for a sight of the miniature worn on ribbon round the ambassador's neck, every one at least except "Madame," who complained of the etiquette which forbade her even to mention the name of the Prince of Wales, or ask for a glimpse of his picture before the offer was formally made. At last she begged the lady in whose house he lodged to borrow the likeness as if for herself. Then shutting herself up alone, as Lord Kensington writes to his prince, "She kept it an hour in her hands, and when she returned it gave many praises of your person. Sir, this is a business so fit for secresy as I know it shall travel no further than unto the King your father, my Lord Duke of Buckingham, and my Lord of Carlisle's knowledge. A tenderness in this is honourable, for I would rather die a thousand times than it should be published, since I am by the young princess trusted, who is for beauty and goodness an angel."

"My Lord of Carlisle" was Robert Hay, a new Scottish favourite, who might perhaps have developed into another Somerset if more time had been granted him, for he had already contrived to wear a dress worth 40,000*l.* He was sent as ambassador extraordinary to make formal proposals for the princess, bringing letters from both King and Prince to the young lady herself, together with a portrait, which she was now allowed to receive, and put into her bosom. Kensington was permitted to have a private interview with her, and the two young people appear to have been thoroughly in love with the portraits and descriptions of one another.

There were, however, great difficulties in the way. Pope Urban VIII., of the house of Barberini, was in the interest of Spain, and was reluctant to grant dispensation, believing that either the bride must feel herself and her friends persecuted, or else join her husband's Church; and that if, on the other hand, she influenced him even to tolerate her fellow Romanists it would lead to the overthrow of his throne. Philip of Spain likewise tried to dissuade his brother-in-law, Louis XIII., from permitting the match, but Marie de Medicis wished to see another daughter a queen, and what was of more importance, Richelieu was bent on the alliance, seeing in it the means of continuing that French policy which had been almost uniform since the days of François I. of an alliance with England and even with German Protestantism and Dutch independence for the depression of the three branches of the House of Austria in Germany, Spain, and the Low Countries.

Nor was true Gallicanism by any means so alien to the English Church as was Romanism pure and simple; but Richelieu, while sending his own confidant and confessor, the Capuchin Père Joseph and the excellent Bérulle, founder of the Oratory, to argue in favour of the dispensation, could not but stipulate that Henriette should have full exercise of her religion together with all her suite, and that chapels, chaplains, and oratories should be provided; also that she should have the entire charge of all her children till their thirteenth year, and that

CAMEO XV.

Death of James I.
1625.

the members of her communion should have perfect liberty of conscience. The marriage was to take place by proxy in France with the same ceremonies as had been observed at that of Henri IV. and Marguerite de Valois, and on the bride's arrival was to be ratified without a religious ceremony. Her portion was to be 600,000 crowns, half paid before, and half after, the marriage.

This toleration, clenched by the liberation of all the imprisoned Romanists, was absolutely insisted on. James and Charles did not see their way to granting it in the face of the parliament before which they had sworn to destroy Romanism; and, on the other hand, Richelieu held it derogatory to the honour of the French crown to be content with less than had been granted to Spain, while Urban refused the dispensation unless it were purchased by such a concession. The King and Prince on this swore by a secret article that though it was impossible for them to revoke the penal laws, they would never put them in force against persons who lived as good and loyal subjects, and with this Richelieu professed to be satisfied, and Urban sent his Nuncio, Spada, to France with the letter of dispensation, forbidding him, however, to publish it unless some better guarantee could be extorted from the English. The French Government offered a dispensation by their own Bishops, but James refused this, lest the validity of the marriage should be called in question; and at last the Pope professed himself satisfied with an oath taken by Louis XIII. that he and his successors would use all their power to force the English to practise toleration.

The dispensation was granted on the 21st of March, 1625, but by this time James was dying. Never strong, he had injured his health with over-eating, and constant sipping of sweet wines, and he came back after a hunting match to Theobald's with what was called a tertian ague. He was told it was a healthy complaint, to which he answered "that was a saying for a young king." Gout in the stomach seems to have come on. Lady Villiers, mother of Buckingham, arrived with a plaster and a potion which were held as sovereign remedies for ague in her own home at Essex; but these did no good. On the eleventh day of his illness he received his last Communion with great devotion. Three days later he suddenly ordered his son to be called, but by the time Charles arrived, his power of speech had failed, and he died on the 27th of March, 1625.

James I. of England and VI. of Scotland died at fifty-nine years old, an age greater than any of his predecessors had attained either in England or Scotland, with the exception of Queen Elizabeth, since the reigns of Edward III. and Robert II. In Scotland, two of his ancestors had been murdered, two had been killed in war, two had died of grief, his mother had perished on the scaffold—the fate which was in store for his only surviving son—and in truth, he and his grandson Charles II., and his great granddaughter Anne, were the only sovereigns of the line who died peacefully while still reigning. He was, as we have seen, a strange being, with some radical imperfection in his nature, not affecting his intellect or judgment, but his nerves and power of will, and thus

occasioning foibles which rendered him contemptible and ridiculous, excepting when, as in many of his letters and decisions, his real wisdom came into play. His favouritism was probably partly due to the timidity and weakness that made him lean on some one; his violent passions were probably partly from his physical weakness, but his profane language and coarseness of habits, though stopping short of vice, were surely conscious sins. Of his want of veracity, the same cannot quite be said, for falsehood had for the last century been deliberately regarded as a legitimate part of kingcraft or the art of reigning.

When politics began to be a science, its first professors considered stratagem and concealment to be their readiest weapons for obtaining the power and security of their country, and the home influence of their crown. Honesty in statesmanship was viewed as something quite apart from honour, in a man's individual capacity; and it took at least two centuries more to convince the world that nothing could be done without mutual trust.

And thus to kingcraft James trusted, and to belief in it he bred up his son, otherwise a very different person, both in appearance and habits. Charles, though small of stature, was as dignified and kingly in bearing as his father had been the reverse; his countenance was beautiful, with the chestnut eyes and hair of his Stewart ancestors, and his tastes and habits scholarly and refined, his journey on the Continent having served as education to him in love of poetry and art. Religion was the great interest of the time, and Charles, like his father, had it much at heart, and with him it was a more real and consistent guide than it had been to James. He had several serious defects of character, some almost as if they had sprung up as a reaction from his father's faults. For instance, James had vacillated, and Charles was obstinate from not knowing the right moment to give up; but unfortunately, straightforward conduct either towards their own subjects or foreign powers was then thought inconsistent with the polity of a sovereign.

Charles, now twenty-five years old, received the homage of the attendants at Theobald's immediately after his father's death, and was proclaimed the same evening at the gates. The next morning he went in a carriage with the Duke of Buckingham to Whitehall, where he was proclaimed in the streets during a heavy shower of rain, which was thought a bad omen. Indeed it was followed by an outbreak of the plague, which continually haunted London, no doubt from the state of the drinking water.

On the 30th of March, 1625, Charles ratified the treaty with France, and the Duke de Chevreuse, a prince of the house of Guise, was appointed (as had been already arranged) to act as his proxy at the wedding. This took place, after the precedent of that of Henri of Navarre, outside the door of Notre Dame, after which the bride walked up the cathedral for the mass. Chevreuse, as representing a Protestant, did not accompany her. This was on the 21st of May, and, immediately after, Buckingham arrived to take the bride home. A splendid

CAMEO XV.
Marriage of Charles I.
1625.

series of entertainments began. Among them was a pageant representing all the French princesses who had been Queens in England, not a very encouraging series to display to Henriette Marie. Isabel, the She-Wolf and Margaret of Anjou were not happy precedents!

But the French Court was chiefly interested in the gallantries that passed between their own young Queen and the handsome envoy, who went about scattering pearls, which were loosely fastened to his mantle on purpose to serve as a largesse. He had twenty-seven magnificent suits with him, the most splendid of which was of white satin, with a white cut velvet mantle, both cloak and suit set with diamonds, costing 80,000*l.*, and with a plume of diamonds, sword girdle, hatband, and even spurs, set with the same, in which to enter Paris! Anne of Austria had grown up into great beauty; she was very fair, with blue eyes, magnificent blonde hair, and exquisite hands, and with great grace and dignity of bearing; but she did not interest her husband. He was not vicious, but he was dull and cold, and liked his dogs and his hunting parties better than anything else. The lovely young Queen was now woman enough to feel hurt at his neglect, and the lively intriguing Duchess of Chevreuse, her confidante, was a lady of the house of Rohan, whom Luynes had married for love, and who had lately wedded the Duke de Chevreuse, a younger son of the Guise family. Buckingham openly showed his admiration of the Queen, and this, the first approach to love that Anne had ever tasted, became the romance of her life. She manifested the pleasure his devotion gave her, and he enjoyed making a display of his homage to the *woman*, not only to the Queen. The king, who had intended to escort his sister to the coast, fell ill, and this caused a delay, during which the lookers on began to talk of the Queen and Duke. Henriette at last set out with all the family except the King. There was another detention of a fortnight at Amiens owing to the indisposition of Marie de Medicis. Hearing that the plague was at Calais, the two French Queens remained together at Amiens, while the English train moved on to Boulogne, and it was said that Anne had tears in her eyes at parting with the Duke. However, Buckingham delayed the whole escort at Boulogne while he thought proper to rush back to Amiens for a last farewell of Anne. Report said that it was to restore a diamond clasp which she had given to him, but which Louis might demand. He made his way to her private chamber, where she was attended by two maids of honour, and on his knees, professed his devotion to her. She was now angry and alarmed, and rebuked him with a displeasure which scandal declared to be insincere. At any rate, this act provoked even the sluggish Louis, who made it his request that the presumptuous Duke might never be sent to him on any future embassy, while he dismissed all Anne's favourite ladies, especially Madame de Chevreuse, who was sent on with the English Queen, while Richelieu surrounded her with persons devoted to himself.

Charles was awaiting his bride at Canterbury, and on the 23rd of June the guns of Boulogne announced her embarkation. She landed at Dover

CAMEO XV.
Arrival of Henrietta Maria.
1625.

at seven o'clock, and Mr. Tyrwhitt, one of the King's gentlemen, galloped to Canterbury with the tidings, in thirty-six minutes of the long summer evening. Charles let her rest that night, but was at Dover Castle at ten the next morning. Henriette was at breakfast. She sprang up and hurried down a flight of stairs to meet him. She was going to kneel and kiss his hand, when he caught her in his arms with many kisses. She tried to utter the little speech in which she had been instructed, "*Sire, je suis venue en ce pays de votre Majesté pour être commandée de vous*," but she was cut short by a gush of girlish tears. Charles tenderly soothed her, kissing away her tears, and declaring he should continue kissing as long as she went on crying, that she was not come among enemies and strangers, but that he was her servant. Never did twenty-five and fifteen, royally wedded, meet with more artless grace and sweetness!

Charles had been told that his little bride was very short, and finding that her head reached to his shoulder—no great height—he glanced at her feet to see if she wore high-heeled shoes; but she caught at his meaning, and holding up her little foot, said, "Sire, I stand on my own feet: I have no help from art. Thus high am I, neither higher nor lower."

She then presented her chief attendants. The whole number was sixty—far too many of them, as the English thought—the Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse, Madame de S. George, who had been brought up with her, and many more. Then they set off for Canterbury, Charles riding, the Queen in her carriage, till they came to Barham Downs, where tents were pitched, and the English ladies of her household were presented to her. At Canterbury a feast was made ready, and Charles carved for his bride. She ate heartily of both venison and pheasant, though her confessor, Father Sancy, reminded her that it was a fast-day, being the Eve of S. John the Baptist; and the English, on these slight grounds, had hopes of her conversion to their Church, reporting, moreover, that when she was asked if she disliked Huguenots, she answered, "How should I? Was not my father one?"

No one then realised that the frivolous, lively, childish girl was fixed on being a missionary queen, showing staunchness to her Church in the heretic land like a Bertha, a Clotilda, an Ingundis; and hoping, like them, to win over her husband and his people to what she had been taught to regard as the only true Church.

Father Sancy, her confessor, kept this object constantly in mind as her great duty; and when the actual marriage took place in the great hall at Canterbury, it seems to have been merely the civil contract, neither party submitting to the religious ritual of the other. The royal pair then entered London by water, for the streets were made perilous by the plague, and the law courts had to be transferred to Reading. There was a splendid procession of boats on the Thames, the King and Queen, both dressed in green, sitting in their barge waving their hands to the people, who were in sufficient numbers to throng the banks, though many of the streets were deserted and grass-grown. The bells rang all

CAMEO XV.
Marriage Rejoicings.
1625.

the evening, and bonfires blazed long after Charles and Henriette Marie had landed at Somerset house, and presently repaired to Whitehall. Henriette Marie continued to be her signature, and she named her god-daughters by her *full* name, which following the French pronunciation, was usually made into Harriet, or Hawyot in actual use; but the King chose to have her called by her second name, Mary, and when reminded that Mary recalled perilous recollections, replied that the land should find blessings connected with that name which should counteract previous evils.

Father Sancy's first service at Whitehall, though the congregation only consisted of the young queen, six ladies, and a few gentlemen, all French, was regarded with scorn and horror by the Londoners. "The mass was mumbled over her," as the news letter declared, and in the temper of the court and people it was imprudent in Sancy to press for the completion of a chapel at S. James's Palace.

The stay in London was brief on account of the plague, but Charles opened his first parliament with the Queen sitting on a throne beside his own. It gave tokens of being a stormy parliament. Calvinism was exceedingly strong among the leading faction, and the Church principles prevailing at court were deeply disliked. There was displeasure at the Queen's Romanism, and discontent at Buckingham's supremacy in the council, with a strong resolution to curtail the power of the Crown.

At the beginning of the session, the Puritans moved the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer, which they kept by listening to sermons at S. Margaret's Church, where the next day they communicated. Their zeal had been much inflamed by a controversy between a Jesuit and Dr. Richard Montagu, Fellow of Eton College, and Prebendary of Windsor. The Jesuit had put out a tract entitled *A New Gag for an Old Gospel*, reproaching the English Church with all the doctrines of extreme Calvinism and their consequences. In reply Montagu wrote a book which he called *The Gagger*, explaining the true and Catholic doctrine of the English Church.

But to the Puritans this was rank Arminianism, nay, popery itself. Yates and Ward, two lecturers at Ipswich, denounced the book, not to the ecclesiastical authority, nor to the King, but to a more sympathetic body, namely, the House of Commons. Thereupon Montagu wrote another book, appealing to the Crown, calling it *Appello Cæsarem*. This was a still greater offence, and the Commons no sooner met than, trying to imitate the Dutch treatment of Arminians, they summoned Montagu to the bar of the House, and pending their vote of censure, committed him to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms till he should find bail to the amount of 2,000*l*. Charles was very indignant at their presumption, and Laud, with two other bishops, set forth, that Convocation was the only body with any right to deal with matters of doctrine, and that Montagu's opinions were perfectly borne out by the Prayer-book.

The leaders of the Commons seeing resistance made to them, resolved to punish it by keeping back the supplies of money.

CAMEO XV.

Tonnage and Poundage. 1625.

Ever since the reign of Edward III. the merchants of England had paid the king three shillings on every tun of wine, and one shilling on every pound of other goods shipped in England, to enable the government to protect them from pirates or nations at war with England. The parliament generally granted this tonnage and poundage, as it was called, for the king's life, at the beginning of each reign; but they now granted it only for the coming year, thus keeping it in their own power. Charles, justly displeased, would not pass the bill.

However, the plague was a pressing danger: 1,200 people had died in one week in London, and on the 11th of July, Charles prorogued it until the 1st of August, when it met at Oxford. There was fierce debate and anger there. The Commons declared that they were called on to grant money for the men without knowing who was the enemy. They took it upon them to censure Montagu, they complained that eleven popish priests under sentence of death had been pardoned, and they showed an inclination to impeach Buckingham. There were cases of the plague at Oxford, and this gave Charles good reason for at once dismissing, and at the same time dissolving, a parliament so hard to deal with.

Henriette was at Hampton Court, and she and her train were not making it easier for him to allay the suspicions of his anti-papal subjects. Father Sancy was so loudly pressing on the point of having a chapel fitted up at S. James's that, finding it impossible to make him understand that, in the present temper of the people, such an open step would have been dangerous, Charles sent him home, while the public reported that his extradition was for making the Queen walk barefoot to Tyburn, to pray for the souls of Guy Fawkes and Father Garnet.

The King longed to get rid of the rest of the suite in the same manner. They surrounded the queen constantly. She talked nothing but French, and refused to learn English. Madame de S. George was constantly with her, and asserted her right to go in the same coach alone with the royal pair, and Madame de Chevreuse scandalised the English by swimming across the Thames at Richmond—and yet, in Charles's first ardour, he had, by the marriage articles, undertaken that all these numerous foreigners should be attached to his wife's train, as well as that their communion should enjoy a toleration which his subjects absolutely would not permit him to grant.

However, Buckingham persuaded him that a brilliant expedition of the fleet at Cadiz, after the fashion of Drake and Essex, would set all straight and gratify the nation, and fill the exchequer with treasure, as well as strike a blow in the cause of his sister. Every nerve was strained to raise money for the equipment of the fleet—by loans, by keeping salaries in arrears, by collecting tonnage and poundage. Ten thousand men were raised, a fleet fitted out of eighty ships, to which the Dutch added sixteen, and the destination was supposed to be a secret, but the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* in the Low Countries, a sort of news letter, already published that it was bound for the Straits.

CAMEO XV. *Expedition to Spain.* 1625.

More unfortunately still, the entire command was given to Sir Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, an old officer who had been notoriously unsuccessful in the Palatinate, and on whom the sailors looked with contempt; but it was a matter of interest. The expedition sailed in October, and suffered from storms in the Bay of Biscay. A ship called *The Long Robin* foundered with 170 men on board. There was utter confusion, and the Spanish vessels passed without being attacked; but at last Wimbledon landed his men, and took a little fort called Puntal, close to Cadiz, whence he moved to cut off the bridge to the Isla de Leon. He did not meet an enemy, but his ill-disciplined men broke open the wine cellars, and the whole army was in such an unmanageable state of intoxication that their officers could only get as many of them as possible back to the ships, leaving the rest to be murdered by the peasantry. He sailed away from Cadiz, still hoping to intercept the American treasure ships; but an infectious disease broke out on board one vessel, the *Delaware*, whereupon he commanded the sick men to be distributed in all the other ships, so that there was universal contagion and after eighteen days of misery, the ships came back in a wretched state to Plymouth, without a single prize.

There was such an outcry of indignation, that the King was forced to let an inquiry take place before the Privy Council. Wimbledon blamed the officers, they blamed Wimbledon; but he declared that the command had been forced on him by Buckingham, and that he knew himself to be unfit for it, so that if he were punished, he would be his "excellency's martyr." The matter, therefore, was passed over, and supplies of money being necessary, Buckingham went to the Hague to negotiate a loan on the crown jewels. He also started for Paris, receiving letters from Charles about obtaining the consent of the court of France to the dismissal of most of the French attendants on the Queen—or, as the King termed it, "putting away the mounsers"—who were a serious annoyance to him. Madame de S. George wanted to take precedence of all the English ladies, and Henriette took her part with all her might; there were constant quarrels in the court, and the young Queen, not yet sixteen, behaved like a petulant, childish girl. Buckingham's previous presumption made Louis XIII. indignantly decline to receive him as ambassador, and he carried home an ill-will to France which boded ill for the future.

The plague abated in the winter, and on the 2nd of February, 1626, the Feast of the Purification, the coronation took place in Westminster Abbey; but to the extreme mortification of the King, Henriette absolutely refused to share in it, no doubt on account of the Communion which accompanied it. She would not even look on from a latticed box in the Abbey! The deprivation must have seemed a martyrdom to her, and as she stood in the bay window over the gateway at Whitehall, to watch the procession pass towards Westminster, her French ladies were seen frisking and dancing about, much to the disgust of the English.

CAMEO XV.
Coronation of Charles. 1626.

Charles's dress was of white, and he thus first acquired the title of the White King. His mantle was of violet velvet. He did not ride from the Tower, lest the concourse should aggravate the plague, but only went in full state from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, with the peers, bishops, judges, &c., in procession. Laud, then Bishop of S. David's, had been appointed to act as Dean of Westminster, and had overlooked the coronation service, and arranged everything. Archbishop Abbot, however, officiated, though he was now very old and feeble. He presented the King, bareheaded, on the steps of the throne, to the lords and people of England, east, west, north, and south, and asked if they were prepared to render the service due to him. At first there was silence, no doubt from the old man's voice not being heard, for when the Earl Marshal called on the people to shout if they accepted the King, the Abbey rang with acclamations.

The Bishop of Carlisle preached the sermon on the text, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Then the Archbishop administered the coronation oath before the altar, the robes were offered on it, and then a screen was put up, behind which the anointing of head, shoulders, arms, and hands took place, while the choir chanted, "Zadok the priest anointed Solomon king over Israel." Then Charles stood forth, and was arrayed in the robes of Edward the Confessor, and crowned by the Archbishop, the sword of Edward was girt upon him, the spurs bound on by the Duke of Buckingham. Afterwards he offered, first the sword, then gold and silver, then bread and wine at the Altar, and the *Te Deum* was sung while he was conducted to the chair of state, and received, one by one, the homage and oaths of fealty of the nobility. There followed the celebration of the Holy Communion by the Archbishop, four other Bishops, likewise in rich capes, receiving with the King. He went back to Whitehall by water, the ceremony having lasted from ten o'clock till four.

The contumacy of the Queen further enraged the King with the French household. The Bishop of Mantes, a youth of twenty, had been made her almoner, and had a great dispute with Rich, who had been created Earl of Holland. This brought matters to a crisis. Charles ordered off all the French from Whitehall to await his pleasure at Somerset House, and actually locked the door on his wife to keep her from flying after them. Then she tried to break the windows to call to them, and he was actually seen holding her by the arms as the impetuous girl struggled with him in her fury.

She was not allowed to see her friends again, but they lingered, on all sorts of pretexts, for a whole month, being paid their salaries with large gratuities, when Charles, in despair, sent his heralds and trumpeters to proclaim his commands, and thrust them out if they would not otherwise go. At last they were disposed of in coaches, where one of the mob threw a stone at Madame de S. George.

Only one dresser, and the Protestant Duchess de la Tremouille, were

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Bassompierre's Mission. 1626.

left to Henriette. She was in despair, raged at her husband, and wrote piteous letters to her brother and mother, who were extremely angry, and sent her father's old friend, Marshal de Bassompierre, to compose matters. He had a hard task, and seems to have acted very prudently. He ended by giving the young wife a thorough lecture on her duties, and so reconciled matters that Charles and Henriette were a most affectionate couple ever after; but all these storms had not tended to the popularity of the French alliance.

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CHARLES'S SECOND PARLIAMENT.

(1626—1627.)

England.		*France.*
1603. James I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

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The Strife in the Church.

THERE were two great battles to be fought out in the days of Charles I. One was whether the Catholic and Apostolic Church should mould the English people, or whether the loudest-voiced of the English people should manipulate religion, till all the essentials of a Church vanished under their hands. The other was whether the Crown or the House of Commons should be the first power in the nation, and the opponents of Church and Crown made common cause. Both were aggressive. Though the Commons might talk of Witen-a-Gemôts, and here and there the lawyers might discover a precedent, the truth was that after the Norman Conquest, the Crown had been supreme, and that Magna Charta had only thrown power into the hands of the turbulent nobility, while the Commons had only been called to grant supplies, with licence to mention their grievances, and that their claim to dictate to the whole kingdom was an absolute novelty, only rendered possible by the weakness of James I., and by their own conscious strength. As to meddling with the Church, and censuring doctrine or practice, for that they had not the slightest precedent in the history of the constitution. They could only assume it on the same grounds as the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, or the Dutch republicans, who had persecuted the Arminians and slaughtered Barneveldt.

Calvinism, or, as they termed it, Puritanism, had been eating its way into the nation all through the last two reigns. Opposition to Spain and the Church she upheld had made all Elizabeth's great men strong Protestants, and, with the exception of Parker, all her higher clergy had been of the same mould, and thus the religious system had come to be an Episcopal Calvinism, with the Liturgy indeed, but with the utmost laxity of ritual, while controversial and political sermons and lectures

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The popular preaching.

were passionately sought after, and were often full of coarse invective against all the remains of Catholicism in the Church. Ordination was almost as easily attainable as before the Reformation ; no definite cure of souls, nor regular appointment or maintenance, such as is now termed a title for Orders, was necessary, testimonials or examination were little thought of, and the swarm of unbeneficed clergy found employment as chaplains in private families, or as lecturers. Lectureships were founded by endowments, and were courses of sermons preached in the Church without relation to its services or regular incumbent ; while some, which were termed running lectures, were preached in a whole circle of country churches. It was a strange reaction from the days when sermons were rare events, taking place only in Lent, or on great occasions ; and the whole world flocked to them on market-days, and on evenings as well as on Sundays, listening fervently to what was not nearly so much devotional as controversial, and even denunciatory and political. To preach morality was viewed as a return to the bondage of the Law. Calvinism at that day required the constant proclamation of predestination, and the lectures further took the place of the newspapers and essays, political and religious, of our own day. Thus the people were in many places permeated with Calvinistic doctrine, and their strongest instinct was hatred to Popery, and what they called Arminianism, which in England simply meant the true Catholic doctrine.

Under all these unfavourable circumstances a man had arisen whose one idea was to restore the English Church, and enable her again to show forth her true doctrine, and assert herself as no creature of Luther, Calvin, or Cranmer, but a true branch of the Church, continuous from the days of the Apostles, once laden with errors, and now nearly torn to pieces in ridding herself of them, but still capable of recovery and revival. This was William Laud, at present Bishop of S. David's, and one of the royal chaplains. He was one of the most devout and scrupulous men in the world, but he believed that the revival of the Church must be worked out by authority from above, and therefore he had attached himself to Court life, and striven to begin by moulding and convincing those in whose hands was government.

He was greatly respected by the young King, and likewise by the Duke of Buckingham. This man, though in history he appears in such an unfavourable light, as arrogant, presumptuous, domineering, and grasping, must have had about him some great charm of fascination. Not only was he the only royal favourite on record equally beloved by father and son, men very dissimilar to one another ; but in the midst of the brilliant French court, he caught the fancy of the stately Spanish-born Queen : he was warmly loved by many, and there is no doubt that the pious and devout Laud was genuinely attached to him. The diary in which Laud records his own failings, his penitence, his dreams, everything that touched him, makes it certain that his affection for Buckingham was true and devoted. As the Duke's religious adviser and confessor,

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Hostility to Buckingham.

he knew the strong devotional feeling and the repentance that prevailed in the wayward heart, and that there was a very different side of character to the man whom England regarded as its greatest foe. There is no doubt that Buckingham was a spoiled child, and that his personal charms, by giving him exclusive ascendency over his sovereigns, had raised him to a post that he was totally unfitted for. He had no idea of statesmanship, no comprehension of the duty of a sovereign. Probably he really had not the brain to take in the notion, and all he could understand was that royalty should be splendid, glorious in war, and beneficent, especially towards himself and his friends, and for these purposes money must be raised by any means that could be devised. It was the nation's business to minister to the needs of the King, and it must be made to do so, whether by Parliamentary grants, imposts, customs, or forced loans! Such was his notion of government, and he gave further offence by the arrogance of manner and extravagance of expenditure which were chiefly the consequence of the vanity excited by the King's distinguishing favour; but we may remember in his behalf, that, though gay, luxurious, and pleasure-loving, there was no deep stain of vice or profligacy on his character, and that though he made many enemies, he was never vindictive, nor used his power to gratify personal enmity. He was a warm friend, and made himself personally beloved; and his errors, though grievous and fatal, were chiefly those caused by vanity, a weak head, and a position which drove him into undertakings which he was unequal to conduct properly, and which he therefore tried to carry out by improper and unjustifiable means.

All this could not but make him the object of bitter hatred to the nation at large. The nobility despised and hated him as an upstart who had obtained the ear of the King, and engrossed for himself and his connections all sorts of offices and emoluments; the wise and statesmanlike gentlemen looked with dismay at the blunders in policy to which he committed the nation; the Puritans regarded with horror his magnificence and love of pleasure and amusement, and the whole country was resolved to make a stand against the demands for money which the people regarded as extortions, impoverishing them under pretext of recovering the Palatinate, but chiefly lavished on the favourite and his followers. Buckingham wished no harm to any one, but his incapacity, recklessness, and bad management produced rapacity and oppression, and rendered him the object of universal obloquy.

Facing a Parliament was the ordeal most dreaded by both the King and Buckingham, and yet the Commons must be assembled or supplies could not be obtained. Charles had tried to reduce the number of the Duke's enemies when he looked over the list of high sheriffs for the counties for the year 1626. Three names for each county are always submitted to the sovereign as a matter of form, but there is in point of fact no exercise of choice, for each is pricked off to serve in rotation. Charles, on this occasion, departed from the regular custom by changing seven of the names for those of gentlemen who had shown themselves

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Opening of Parliament. 1626.

most hostile to Buckingham in the preceding session ; thus causing them to return the members elected, and disqualifying them for the coming Parliament. He considered himself to be acting perfectly within his rights in thus excluding men whom he viewed as factious and spiteful, but the measure was viewed as unfair, and increased the general discontent.

Williams was no longer Lord Keeper ; Buckingham disliked and distrusted him, and indeed, though one of the ablest and most industrious statesmen in England, he was altogether unprincipled. On the plea that King James had considered that no Lord Keeper should hold office more than three years at a time the Great Seal was taken from him and given to Sir Thomas Coventry, who had been Attorney-General.

Four days after the Coronation, on the 6th of February, 1626, the King opened Parliament. He had a slight impediment in speech, which made public speaking very difficult to him, so he only said he was no orator, and should leave the Lord Keeper to speak for him ; and this Coventry did very decisively, but without impressing much submission on the Commons. They began by resuming their attack on Dr. Montagu and on another divine named Mainwaring. So virulent were they that Charles thought it safer to call in Montagu's book, and Mainwaring was imprisoned, fined, suspended, and forced to ask pardon on his knees of this new hydra-headed Pope of England.

The true Churchmen, with Laud at their head, were grieved at this concession to the Puritans, but Charles made it up to the sufferers as soon as he could, and before long Montagu and Mainwaring were on the bench of Bishops.

The House next offered to the King a list of sixteen grievances, the chief of which were monopolies, the system of impositions or forced loans, the purveyance by which provisions for the King's household were collected at a fixed rate within sixty miles of the Court, and the collection of tonnage and poundage, although the bill sanctioning it had not been fully passed in the last Parliament. To this it was answered that these imposts made part of the regular revenue, and that it was the Commons who had departed from the stated rule and made the difficulty. Hopes were held out to the King of a grant provided all these were redressed, and all the blame was laid on a certain "great delinquent."

Charles, however, did not choose to allow what he held as the rights of his Crown to be purchased from him for a sum of money, and he tried the effect of the sharp reprimands, threats, and commands which the Tudors were wont to employ. "I wish you would hasten my supply," he wrote, "or it shall be the worse for yourselves."

The threat only made the Commons more determined in their resistance, to submit to no encroachment of the Crown, and to impeach "the great delinquent" on whom they laid all the blame. Sir Dudley Carleton, who had been much abroad, cautioned them not to drive the King to extremity and make him "out of love with Parliaments," lest

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Resistance to Tonnage and Poundage. 1626

he should dispense with them altogether, as had been done in almost all the other kingdoms of Europe. "In foreign countries," he said, "the people look, not like ours with store of flesh on their backs, but like ghosts, being nothing but skin and bone, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing wooden shoes on their feet—a misery beyond expression, and that we are yet free from; and let us not lose the repute of a free-born nation by our turbulency in Parliament."

Sir Dudley never seems to have doubted of the royal power to overthrow the Parliament, as Louis XIII. had overthrown the States-General, or Charles V. the Cortes; but probably with neither of those bodies would the welfare of the poor have been a plea.

Charles came down himself to address the Commons, and reminded them that the very existence of a Parliament depended on his pleasure. They retired to deliberate, but locked themselves into their chamber and gave the key to the Speaker, Sir Heneage Finch. It was plain that there must be some measures of conciliation, and Charles invited them to hold a conference with the Lords. There Buckingham tried to explain away a good deal, and offered, on the King's behalf, that a secret committee should investigate the various grievances they complained of.

But the Commons had made up their minds to impeach the Duke himself, and when the recess for Easter took place it was well known that this was their intention. Charles, on his side, sought to diminish the number of his friend's opponents, and among them he noted the Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard, the same who had been born while his father was in the Tower. He had been restored to the family honours, and had the regular hatred of the older nobility to the upstart. He held in his hands five proxies of other peers, and it was matter of rejoicing to the Court to find that he had incurred a penalty by the marriage of his son, Lord Maltravers, to a daughter of the Duke of Lennox, without the royal licence. The fact was that it was a stolen match, arranged between the two mothers, without the Earl's knowledge; but this exculpation was not allowed to prevent him from, pending an inquiry, being sent to the Tower by royal warrant, and Charles was surprised to find that the Peeers considered this as a breach of their privileges. Certainly they never would have dared to make any such protest to Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, and the knowledge that no ill was intended to the Earl, but that he was simply to be kept out of the way, only increased their indignation, and they passed a resolution to deal with no other concern till Arundel was set at liberty. This was done after three months.

There was another enemy of Buckingham whom the King strove to keep at a distance, namely, John Digby, Earl of Bristol, who had been ambassador in Spain at the time of the visit of the Prince and Duke, and who had a very different story to tell about the courtship from that which Buckingham had publicly told, with Charles's assent. Bristol had been prevented from contradicting this statement on that occasion

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Impeachment of Bristol, 1626.

by being ordered down into the country, and kept at his estate at Sherborne. He had again and again petitioned the Kings, father and son, to be allowed to come to London and to be heard in his own defence, and now he made a fresh demand to know why the writ, summoning him to take his seat among his peers, had never been issued. It was impossible not to send the summons, but a private letter accompanied it, bidding him stay away on pain of the king's displeasure. Bristol sent the letter to the House of Lords, asking for their advice, and demanding permission to cite Buckingham to their bar for high crimes and misdemeanours.

On this the Attorney-General, at the Bar of the House, accused Bristol himself of high treason, intending to silence his voice; but the Lords ruled that the two causes should be heard in succession, and that the Earl's impeachment should not invalidate his testimony. Thereupon Bristol came to the House of Lords as in triumph, with eight horses to his coach, adorned with cloth of gold, and a grand retinue, while Buckingham, contrary to his usual habits, used only an old coach and brought merely a few footmen.

Bristol then accused him of plotting with Gondomar to get the Prince of Wales into Spain, so that he might be converted to Romanism before his marriage; of having himself conformed to Popish rites; of having brought contempt on the Prince by his misconduct at Madrid; and of having broken off the treaty of marriage out of spite, and then of deceiving the King and Parliament with a false narration.

On the other hand the Attorney-General, Heath, retorted on Bristol the charge of wanting to make the Prince change his religion, accused him of falsely declaring the Spanish Government sincere, of trying to drive Charles into the match, and of sending a scandalous report to King James.

The Lords decided that Bristol's cause should first be heard, whereupon the Attorney-General was asked who was the prosecuting witness. He answered that the prosecution had been commanded by the King, and that his Majesty had dictated some of the charges. The Earl drily replied that he could not contend with his sovereign, but that it might have dangerous consequences for the King to be accuser, witness, judge, and receiver of the confiscation. Charles, however, sent Lord-Keeper Coventry to tell the Lords that of his own knowledge he could exculpate the Duke, and that Bristol, by impeaching Buckingham's narrative, insulted royalty, since he himself had vouched for it.

The Lords paid no attention to this message, and Charles endeavoured to remove the cause to the Court of Queen's Bench, but in vain; and an inquiry was made of the Judges whether the King could be a witness in a case of high treason. Charles forbade them to answer it, and in the meantime Bristol answered the charges by a vindication and explanation of his own conduct.

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Impeachment of Buckingham. 1626.

Without waiting for the inquiry of the Lords, the Commons had meantime drawn up thirteen articles against Buckingham, and had voted that the Lords should consider of sending him to the Tower.

Of the thirteen articles, most were the extortion or misapplication of money; but one declared that he had lent English ships to be employed against the Huguenot city of Rochelle, and the last that he had presumed to apply a plaster and administer a drink to the late King without the knowledge of the physicians. Eight messengers were sent up to the Lords with this accusation, at the head of whom were Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot. The latter of these, a Cornishman from St. Germain, was a thoroughly devout and conscientious gentleman, filled with indignation against wrong and oppression, and with a strong conviction that if Englishmen stood on the rights and privileges of which he believed there were germs in the Constitution, the Crown could be prevented from endangering their liberties and property. He thought himself only defensive, while to the other party he appeared aggressive to an unjustifiable degree.

Digges spoke first, comparing the constitution to the universe, in which the King was the sun, the Lords the stars, the Commons the lower world, and Buckingham a portentous comet. The other members pressed the individual charges, and Eliot wound up by likening the Duke first to a blurred and spotted beast called by the ancients *Stellionatus*, and afterwards to Sejanus, the wicked favourite of Tiberius, quoting Tacitus's description in the original Latin, and then pointing the application with "My Lords, you see the man! By him came all the evils. In him we find the cause. On him we expect the remedies."

Buckingham laughed scornfully at the "Stellionatus," and one of the deputation exclaimed, "My Lord do you jeer me? Are these things to be jeered at? My Lord, I can show you where a man of a greater blood than your lordship, as high in place and power, and as deep in the favour of the King as you, hath been hanged for as small a crime as the least of these articles contain."

He probably had in his mind the favourites of Edward II. and Richard II. Any way, Charles felt the attack to be quite as much on himself as on his friend. If Buckingham were Sejanus, then *he* must be Tiberius, and besides, he was told that the allegation about the plaster and the potion was intended to imply that his father had been poisoned with his consent; whereas, as all conversant with the court knew, it had been simply the very common case of a kind lady coming in with her nostrum, and administering it in her own way, in contempt of physicians, nor was there any reasonable cause to suppose that it had done the King any harm; but just as the populace chose to think that poor King James had murdered his son, so they now liked to whisper that Charles had murdered his father. The horrible implication, like the mutual accusations of wanting to Romanise the Prince, must have been added for popularity's sake. Bristol and Buckingham

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Dissolution of Parliament, 1626.

must have known that neither had any desire for so ruinous a step as this latter.

Charles was thoroughly incensed. He sent for Digges and Eliot out of the House of Commons, and had them conveyed to the Tower by water. On the tidings, the House rang with cries of "Rise! Rise!" Mr. Pym, a cautious lawyer, stood up and began to advise patience and prudence, upon which one Walters declared that he mistook, and that the members were only going to rise to go away to dinner.

The King hurried to the House of Lords and made an indignant speech, calling on the peers to vindicate the honour both of himself and Buckingham. On the other hand, the Commons refused to attend to any business till Eliot and Digges were released, and Charles was forced to give them up after a few days.

Just then the Earl of Suffolk died. He was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Charles instantly resolved that by way of compensation for what he considered the vile injustice of the Commons, the Duke should succeed to the office. Dr. Wilson, chaplain to the Bishop of London, arrived with a verbal message to that effect to the Heads of Houses almost at the same time that they received intelligence of the vacancy. The Heads were ready to obey, but Cambridge had become the head-quarters of Puritanism, and the younger fellows and tutors set up in opposition the Earl of Berkshire, without his own knowledge. Buckingham was elected by a majority of three, to the extreme wrath of the Commons, who sent a letter to reproach them for electing a nobleman under impeachment, and were even about to summon the Doctors to answer for themselves, but this act of insolence was summarily prohibited.

Buckingham read his defence. To the Lords it appeared satisfactory; to the Commons it was the reverse, and they were about to insist on his dismissal, and the reform of the abuses they complained of, as the price of the grant they were prepared to make, when they were summoned to the House of Lords to find themselves dissolved. The Lords, shrinking from the unpopularity of the measure, counselled a short delay, but Charles answered "No, not one minute!"

To him the Commons seemed a presumptuous mob, who thought to buy the right of insulting him and all that he held dearest, while, in their eyes, royalty was a tyranny that needed to be bound; and they stretched every precedent to the utmost, and arrogated to themselves rights that had never been heard of before, showing a violence, presumption, and self-conceit that might naturally provoke a King whose predecessors had never seen any such conduct on the part of their Parliaments.

Charles imprisoned Bristol and Arundel, and turned his whole attention to acquiring, without Parliament, the sums he could not obtain from the Lower House without concessions that he deemed unworthy. He sent out his officers to collect the duties of tonnage and poundage, established a commission for making the utmost of the

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Exaction of the forced loan. 1626.

Crown lands, caused the Roman Catholic recusants to be sued for the arrears of their fines, and demanded, under the Privy Seal, loans from the richer nobles, and 120,000*l.* from the city of London. In his eyes these were measures within his authority, to which he was driven by the disloyalty of the Parliament, and the clergy were directed thus to instruct the people. But to the other party they were simply extortions to be passively resisted as the only means of forcing the Parliament to be re-elected. Men who refused the forced loan were imprisoned, and among the gentlemen who did so were Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire baronet, and Mr. John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire. An assize sermon by one Robert Sibthorp, on the rights and powers of kings, went so far in assertion that Archbishop Abbot refused to licence it for publication when it was sent to him by Mr. Murray, a young gentleman of Buckingham's. He was very feeble at the time, and unequal to controversy, but he adhered to his opinion, and submitted to a brief exile from court at his country house at Ford, while Bishop Montaigne exercised his office of censor of the press. Charles, however, respected his conscientiousness, invited him to court at Christmas, and showed him all marks of honour. No one then understood the danger of identifying politics with religion, but each party strengthened itself to the utmost by appealing to the grounds of the faith, regarding State and Church, as one and the same, and thus, with few exceptions, High Churchmanship and loyal principles went together, while Puritanism and Parliaments were the cry on the other side. Sermons were often only public speeches, and men went to hear preachers as they now read leading articles. On the whole the Puritan clergy, at their week-day lectureships, made by far the greatest use of religion as a political engine, but Laud and Montaigne tried to have them met on their own ground, and in this probably committed an error of judgment, connecting the Church in men's minds with the oppressions and abuses of the State.

Of course nothing but popular prejudice could suppose Buckingham the author of all the troubles of England. The real cause of these—and after all they were not grievances that pressed heavily on most people—was that the nation had outgrown feudalism, so that well-educated men could no longer be treated as their half-animal forefathers had been. The constitution had been undefined in the earlier times, and when the strength of the turbulent nobility was broken, the Crown had profited by it. But the franklin, once a mere prosperous rustic, had developed into the squire with a university education, completed by a year or two at the Inns of Court; and though the royal demands might not in themselves hurt him much, he was resolved to give nothing without knowing the reason why, and to stand on his rights and get them acknowledged, using the King's necessity as the opportunity for obtaining such recognition. Naturally the King, who had on his side the Tudor precedents, resisted them; and Buckingham bore

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Buckingham's unpopularity.

the odium of that resistance, because he was well known to be a favourite, and because his sudden elevation from an obscure station had excited jealousy. His honours had no doubt turned his head, and rendered him vain, boastful, and presumptuous, and he had not abilities to fulfil the duties of the situation into which the private friendship of the King's had thrust him; but he had never been malignant against any man, nor used his power for injury to others, and had certainly done nothing to justify the savage and fanatical hatred that was directed against him. He was simply an empty-headed man in a place too high for him; whereas the nation thought him a double-dyed traitor and enemy to his country. He was not an irreligious man, but he was no Puritan, and this added to the general hatred.

CAMEO XVII.

THE SIEGE OF ROCHELLE AND THE PETITION OF RIGHT.

(1625—1629.)

England.
1603. James I.
Spain.
1621. Philip IV.
Germany.
1619. Ferdinand II.
France.
1610. Louis XIII.
Rome.
1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XVII.

Death of Mornay, 1623.

THE affairs of all the great nations of Europe had by the seventeenth century become closely linked together. It is remarkable that one of the great steps in obtaining the constitutional liberties of Englishmen should have come in only as an incident in the war that overthrew the last remnant of religious liberty in France. It is also strange that the men who are honoured as patriots and champions of English rights at home were forcing their sovereign to disgrace the English name abroad by withholding aid from the cause in France and in Germany which they professed to hold most sacred. It was all very well to plead that they did not trust him or his favourite, and would have granted the money—*if*—— The fact remains that it was not Charles, but Eliot, Prynne. and the rest, who abandoned the cause of the foreign reformers.

Old Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, the last of the personal friends of Henri IV., died at his castle of Forêt sur Sèvres on the 11th of November, 1623, and the leadership of the Huguenot party devolved on the Duke de Rohan, the son-in-law of Sully. The younger generation, who had not experienced the miseries of the religious wars, and who had never felt their loyalty bound fast by the charm of the Grand Monarque's graces, were anxious to maintain their cause by hostilities. The peace of 1622 had left them only two cities as pledges, Montauban and Rochelle, to which they were vehemently attached; and they were much displeased that, although the demolition of the fort of St. Louis, which commanded La Rochelle, had been stipulated, the defences of it were being completed, and that a small fleet of King's ships was quietly collecting at Blavet, as if to cut off Rochelle

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Soubise's assault on the French fleet. 1625.

from the sea. It was not the great Cardinal Richelieu's desire; he really wished for toleration, but Louis XIII. and the priestly party were strong against the Huguenots, and Richelieu had his character and position to maintain. The Duke of Soubise, brother to Rohan, a high-spirited, imprudent man, insisted that these suspicious circumstances justified action, and, getting together twelve ships, he entered the port of Blavet by surprise, and, without a shot carried off the royal fleet into the harbour of Rochelle on the 6th of January, 1625.

The French had so small a navy that this attack could not be met without assistance from the naval powers, England and Holland, his Protestant allies; and eight ships were lent by the former, twenty by the latter, most unwillingly, and only on the compulsion of treaties, so that Richelieu insisted that a French captain should have the command of each vessel, lest sympathy with the Huguenots should lead the crews to fight for, rather than against, them.

Soubise had in the meantime mastered the isles of Rhé and Oléron, captured a good many vessels, and was making forays on Languédoc, while his brother, the Duke de Rohan, was collecting men in Languédoc and the Cevennes. On the other hand, the Duke of Epernon was ravaging the country round Montauban. At night thousands of fires could be seen, burning up farmsteads, villages, and vineyards. The same work was going on round Castres, which was defended by Madame de Rohan.

There were negotiations all the time. Rohan offered to lay down his arms on condition that the fortifications of Blavet were destroyed, and himself and his brother employed against the Spaniards in the Valtelline. Soubise meantime obtained a suspension of arms from the Dutch Admiral Hanstein; but the temptation of a favourable breeze was too much for his honour, and sailing up to the Dutch fleet, he took them at unawares, set fire to the flag-ship, and carried five other vessels off to Rhé. Of course this treachery changed the unwilling opposition of the Dutch into fury. The Duke of Montmorency, who had just arrived to take the command, found them most eager to revenge themselves. They hastened to Rhé, re-took it, and Soubise could only escape to the isle of Oléron in a boat, leaving his hat and sword behind him. He was totally defeated in another engagement, and lost eight vessels. He was obliged to leave Oléron to its fate, and go off with the remains of his fleet to England, where the populace welcomed him as a Protestant champion, but Charles I., indignant at his treason, refused to receive him at Court. Yet Charles did not return to the French the royal ships Soubise had brought to Portsmouth, and in Holland there was such anger at the fleet having fought against Protestants that Admiral Hanstein's house at Amsterdam was assaulted by the mob, and the populace insisted on his recall with his ships.

The French Court, with the Spanish war on their hands, was obliged

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Peace with the Huguenots. 1625.

to defer their plans against Rochelle, and permitted the English ambassadors to mediate between the King and the Huguenots, so that a short peace was patched up in 1626. The English undertook to see that the terms granted to the Huguenots were carried out. Buckingham was bitter against the Court which had rebuked his intolerable presumption, and the nation professed to be interested in the cause of their fellow reformers in France as well as in Germany, although their enthusiasm never led them to make such a grant as could enable the King to give any real support to either.

The French war with Spain was brought to an end in the spring of 1627, and a treaty of alliance signed, by which, for the time, France ranked entirely among the Roman Catholic allies. Buckingham and Soubise began to cast about for means of overthrowing the great French Cardinal, who was dreaded by most of the nobility, while the rest were jealous of his ascendency. So far from fulfilling the treaty by pulling down the flag of St. Louis on *terra firma*, the fort of St. Pré had been built on the isle of Rhé, and a third, called St. Marc, was in hand, threatening the city with blockade.

Buckingham's brain conceived the project of stirring up the Huguenots and malcontents in France to break out into a fresh civil war, which should not only chastise Louis XIII. for resenting insults to his wife, but should finally establish a Protestant principality in the south of France, in the old English provinces, with George Villiers at its head! He set the Duke of Soubise to write to his brother, the Duke de Rohan, to upbraid him with tame endurance of the infraction of the treaty, and to promise the aid of England to the Rochellois, if they would revolt. They were unwilling to become rebels, and wisely dreaded the consequences, but the Duke de Rohan undertook to raise 4,000 men; and Buckingham made every effort, by mortgaging estates, and selling or pawning jewels and plate, to supplement the scanty grant from Parliament, and the collection of tonnage and poundage. He succeeded in getting together forty-two ships of war and thirty-four transports, 3,000 infantry, and a squadron of cavalry, and with these he sailed for Rochelle.

Such an armament was a great deal more than the good burgesses of Rochelle either expected or wished. They closed their harbour, and only the Dowager Duchess de Rohan, with Sir William Beecher, Buckingham's secretary, went out in a boat to meet her son, Soubise, and bringing him back with her, persuaded the Provost and Town Council to hold speech with him. He did not gain much by this. The Council declared that they could not prudently begin a war till the harvest was gathered in; and likewise that they were bound by oath not to take up arms without the consent of the rest of their brethren in France. Buckingham, however, resolved to begin hostilities without waiting for them. To have attacked the fort of St. Louis, which they dreaded, would have conciliated them, instead of which he chose to try to take the isle of Rhé, it was supposed, in order to make

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The Fort of St. Marc. 1626.

it a place of retreat for the English privateers, who thought themselves renewing the good old times of Queen Bess, by lying in wait for Spanish and French merchant ships.

The fort of St. Marc was scarcely finished and ill provisioned. The governor was the Sieur de Toiras, a young friend of the King, who promised to come to relieve him as soon as a bed of justice at the Parliament of Paris had been held. Louis, however, was unwell. "I did nothing but shiver all the time I was on the bed of justice," he said to Marshal Bassompierre. "Thence you make others shiver," returned that thorough courtier.

Louis was forced by his ague to halt at Villeroy, and the Cardinal remained with him day and night, spending his own money on the defence against the English, because that of the State did not come in fast enough.

Toiras had had five days' grace, and in this time he contrived to bring in a fair supply of provisions before Buckingham regularly invested St. Marc, digging trenches, and throwing a boom across the harbour. An old officer named Burroughs, who had served in the Low Countries, disapproved of the arrangements, but he was sharply silenced by the vain Duke. Soon after he was killed by a shot from the fortress, and still Toiras held out, and the siege made no progress. However, the Huguenots throughout France had been encouraged to rise, and the citizens of Rochelle followed their example, and united with the English, though not willingly. One of their number went on a mission to the King to propose that the English should retire on condition that the fort of St. Louis should be dismantled. Some were for accepting this proposal, saying that if the isle of Rhé were once taken, it would be hard to recover it; but Richelieu answered that if honour were lost, it would be impossible to recover *that*. Monsieur, namely, the King's brother, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, likewise made a delay. This youth, a weak indolent being, always at the mercy of his favourites, had been married at eighteen to the only daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, the greatest heiress in France, and though he was nothing by himself, he could be easily incited to make himself troublesome by jealousy and obstinacy. On this occasion, he did not like to put himself under his brother's command, but the Cardinal wrote to his reigning adviser "that if people formed such hydras in Monsieur's imagination, he should have no call to meddle in his Royal Highness's affairs. For his own part, he should do his duty." This mysterious threat brought Gaston, and the King was beginning to recover after three months' illness.

The undertaking, as the Cardinal wrote, was to keep Rochelle invested and never leave it, yet to send the best forces to relieve a citadel which was thought to be half lost, to make a descent upon an island besieged by a great naval armament, to commit the best part of the army to the chances of the winds and waves, the sea, and the fleet and artillery of the English. By this time, indeed, Toiras had

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Defeat of Buckingham. 1626.

actually sent to ask if the commander would admit him to terms, and eight o'clock in the morning of the 8th of October had been appointed for the answer.

In the night, however, a number of Bayonne and Sable barques, some of the vessels which Richelieu had been buying up from merchants at all the ports in France, and collecting at the isle of Oléron, succeeded in entering the nearest bay to Fort St. Marc, and landing men and provisions. Thus when Buckingham sent a boat with his answer at the appointed time, the garrison held out, at the end of their pikes, bottles of wine, capons, turkeys, hams, ox-tongues, and further replied from the mouth of their cannon.

Four days later the King and the Cardinal arrived at the camp before Rochelle. They were resolved on a grand expedition to drive the English out of the island. The King chose the troops to be employed man by man, the nobility eagerly volunteered, and the Cardinal went to Oléron to superintend the embarkation. Large numbers began to land in Rhé. Buckingham, who had just been reinforced by the Earl of Holland with 1,500 men, decided on making a last attempt upon St. Martin, though there was no breach in the walls. He could not fail to be repulsed, for there really was no entrance, and the garrison was revived by hope.

He turned to retreat to his ships, but a large part of the French force under Schomberg had got between him and his fleet, occupying the fort of St. Pré, whence they commanded a narrow causeway to the isle of Oie, between marshes and salt pits over which the English must pass to rejoin their ships. The situation was such that it seemed as if they must surrender, but Buckingham, though an incapable general, was as brave as a true Englishman. The cavalry were left to cover the retreat, but were broken, and the cross-fire of Schomberg mowed down the soldiers. The confusion was irretrievable, more were drowned than shot, and 1,200 men and forty colours were lost, although the causeway was held by the English to the last, and the rest of the army embarked in safety. In this struggle was killed a young man famous through his mother and his daughter, Celse Benigne de Rabutin, Baron de Chantal, son of the foundress of the Visitation, and father of Marie de Rabutin, Marquise de Sevigné. Some biographers of his mother have done him the honour to make him fall by the hand of Oliver Cromwell, who, it need not be said, never was at Rochelle. Buckingham was the last man to leave the bridge. The colours and the prisoners were brought to the King, who made a present of all the latter to his sister, the Queen of England.

Buckingham, on reviewing his loss, found it needful to return home, and with him went Soubise, who was said to have been nowhere at the time of the assault, but to have been one of the first in the flight. In the Parliament of Toulouse he had been declared guilty of treason, and that far worthier man, his brother, the Duke de Rohan, had been degraded from his dignities, outlawed, and the privileges of nobility

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Attack on Rochelle. 1627.

offered to whomsoever should assassinate him. During this expedition, Queen Henrietta resorted to a lady who professed to be a prophetess, Lady Eleanor Davies, daughter of the Earl of Castle Haven, and wife to the Attorney-General. The anagram of her name, being *Reveal, O Daniel*, she seems to have believed a token of her powers, and certainly her predictions (as related by herself) justified her belief. She answered the Queen's inquiry whether Buckingham would return, by saying his person would come back safely, though with little honour. She told the Queen, further, that her happiness in England would last sixteen years, and that she would soon have a son. She added to the ladies that the child would be born, baptised, and buried all in one day, and this prediction was fulfilled, for Henrietta's first child, who was born on the 13th of May, 1628, only lived an hour, though that was long enough for a dispute whether it should be baptised by the Queen's Confessor or the King's Chaplain. The King prevailed, but by midnight the infant was buried by Dr. Laud.

The Prince of Condé was sent against Rohan's army. To the Huguenots it was bitter to find that name against them, while the Catholics declared that he must strive to redeem its honour.

Richelieu resolved that the place which had allied itself with foreign enemies should fall, and determined not to relax the siege until it was in his hands, writing to Spain to demand a fleet that had been promised him to blockade it by sea; but only twenty-eight mere hulls arrived. A number of non-combatants asked permission to retire from the city, among them the old Duchess de Rohan, with her daughter, and two hundred women, but this was refused, and she aided in upholding the general resolution. Jean Guiton, a rich merchant, was chosen mayor. He drew his dagger and threw it on the council table. "I accept the honour you do me," he said, "provided this dagger is used to pierce the heart of him who may dare to speak of surrender, my own first of all, should I become so cowardly as to do so." On the other hand, Richelieu was absolutely determined that Rochelle must fall, cost him what it would; and he was supported, nay, almost driven on to this determination, by the saintly Cardinal de Berulle, who looked on the town as a focus of heresy and rebellion, and believed that France would never be at peace till the *imperium in imperio* was at an end. He spoke so earnestly of victory *at the appointed time*, that Richelieu could not refrain from sarcastically asking him if he could fix the date for the surrender, when he replied that our Lord had said that the times and seasons were in His own power. Yet he confidently expected the victory from some sudden interposition in favour of the besiegers, and was sure he had a prophetic foresight of their success.

Nothing is more perplexing than when we thus find equal piety and trust on both sides, and it is well that we need not judge between them. To the Catholic, Calvinism was a fatal heresy, prolific in rebellion, which ought to be extirpated in mercy to the souls of the children

of the schismatics. To the Calvinist, the Catholic was an idolater, and the religion he professed tolerated, at least, all sorts of crimes—or had done so in the days of Catherine de Medici. No wonder it was impossible for them to agree; but it must be remembered that the Calvinist confounded the Church with the sins of its members, and that he had no conception of the unity of the faith, that his system was a terrible perversion of many doctrines, and that it was far from establishing in all its professors any high morality.

The siege of Rochelle interested all France. Hosts of young gentlemen flocked to the royal standard. There was plenty of fighting when the besieged made sallies, and likewise plenty of duelling between these fiery young spirits, though the stern Cardinal repressed it with all his might, making death the penalty of the transgression of his commands. These duels were fought with the rapier, with three or four seconds on either side, all fighting to the death, often on the most foolish dispute or trifling offence, yet it was reckoned so dishonourable to avoid a challenge that the Cardinal's penalties only seemed to add a fresh zest to the practice.

The sea was still open to bold mariners, so that provisions could be brought in, and the English had sailed away with promises of aid. Charles and Buckingham entirely intended to redeem these promises, and a council was held to consider of the means of raising the sum of 173,411*l.*, at which the cost of the expedition was rated. A Parliament was summoned to meet in the March of 1628, and Charles could not but hope that the people who talked so loud of the cause of Protestantism would combine to save the last stronghold of the Huguenots in France. Still, not entirely trusting to this chance, he apportioned the needful sum between the counties, and sent forth collectors of it to bring it in within three weeks, promising to meet the Parliament, in a friendly manner if it were dutifully paid.

He might have known by experience as to the Palatinate, that Rochelle and all its Protestants were nothing to the Puritans in comparison with their claim to be taxed only by the House of Commons. Moreover, while Buckingham remained in favour, they had no confidence that their money would be spent on the relief of Rochelle, and the collectors were met with so many refusals that no less than seventy-eight gentlemen were imprisoned on account of their contumacy.

They were, however, released just before the meeting of Parliament, one of the most noted of the whole of our history. The Earl of Bristol was also set free and permitted to take his seat, and Archbishop Abbot was relieved from his suspension for refusing his licence to print the Royalist sermons.

Charles opened Parliament with a speech in which he exhorted the members to do their duty and act according to their conscience, telling them that otherwise he should be compelled to use speedier methods. He thought of the starving Rochellois; Parliament thought of

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—
The Petition of Right.
1628.

securing their claims and liberties. They would grant the subsidy, and in good time.

"We must vindicate," said Sir Thomas Wentworth, "no new things, but our ancient, legal, and vital liberties."

These four resolutions were passed, which made the subsidy conditional on the King's recognition of these rights—

1st. That no freeman should be restrained or imprisoned without lawful cause specified.

2nd. That the writ of *habeas corpus* ought to be granted to every prisoner on his demand, even though he were put in ward by the King or Council. This, in fact, secured his not lying in prison without a trial, or with a deferred sentence.

3rd. That if no cause be proved against him, he should be delivered.

4th. That every freeman has full property in his estate and goods, and that no tax, loan, nor benevolence should be levied on it without consent of the Parliament.

The practices here complained of seemed to Charles and his statesmen necessary engines of government, enjoyed by all other kings, and not to be yielded without a struggle. The power of imprisoning a dangerous person without trial was held to be for the safety of the kingdom and even for the good of the man himself, since he was thus hindered from committing a crime. Louis XIII., or rather Richelieu, was using the power largely in France, and though to us it seems a monstrous thing, yet in the seventeenth century the novelty was in appealing against it, and even now, in disturbed times, suspensions of the *habeas corpus* act are necessary. Many a Jacobite gentleman was—often to his own great relief—kept from following out his principles in 1715 and 1745 by a timely arrest before he could put himself within the reach of the penalties of high treason; and even in our own day, the suspension has been required and enforced in Ireland.

Thus Charles was most unwilling to cede this right. The form the question took was whether—When a commitment to prison was by the King, the cause must needs be specified in the warrant; and over this there was a two months' argument. The matter was of vital importance to Englishmen; but meanwhile the Rochellois were waiting in vain for the promised aid. After long disputes, what was called the Petition of Right was drawn up and presented to the King, with the plain intimation that on it the subsidies depended. The points in it were—

1st. That there should be no more forced loans.

2nd. That commitments without a crime specified should not take place.

3rd. That soldiers should not be billeted on private persons.

4th. That offences committed on peaceful subjects by soldiers and sailors should be tried by common law, not by martial law.

CAMPO XVII.

Answer to the Petition of Right. 1628.

Charles, in great difficulties, caused the following reply to be written under the petition: "The King willeth that right be done according to the law and customs of the realm, and the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation of which he holds himself obliged as well as of his prerogative."

It was an evasion. Of that there was no doubt; but Charles felt himself just as much bound not to surrender what he viewed as the rights of his Crown, as his people did to obtain—or, as they said, to maintain—their right, as free men. There was great anger, and hot and vehement speeches were made, even with tears, notably by Rich, Prynne, and Coke. The House locked the doors, and went into committee on the means of saving the nation, for they knew that men-at-arms had been hired in Holland, and were persuaded that the intention was to coerce them instead of relieving Rochelle.

They were on the point of denouncing Buckingham, when the Speaker, Finch, who had desired to have half an hour's absence, and had hurried to the King, came back with commands that the House should adjourn.

The next day the House went into Committee, and began to examine as to the foreign troops, and on a duty of excise that had been reported as likely to be levied without their consent. The House of Lords entreated the King to give a more definite answer to the Petition of Right. At four o'clock he came down, and seating himself on the throne, desired that the Petition should be read. Then he gave his consent in the regular old Norman-French form, "*Soit droit fait comme il est desiré.*" This was read by the clerk, and the King added—

"This I am sure is full, yet no more than I meant in my first answer. You neither mean, nor are able, to hurt my prerogative. I assure you that my maxim is that the people's liberties strengthen the King's prerogative, and that the King's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties. You see now how ready I have shown myself to satisfy your demands, so that I have done my part. Now, if this Parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours. I am free of it."

Thus the demands of Petition of Right became part of the law of the land, and a comparison with the course of events in France may well make us thankful for the security they gave us; though in justification of the King's resistance, we must remember that he looked on the power of imprisonment as needful for the country's peace; and the reluctance of the Commons to grant supplies had made his father and himself constantly fail in their engagements, and greatly conduced to his sister's ruin. The question of his right to levy tonnage and poundage, without an act every year to grant it, was left open still.

CAMEO XVII.

Threatenings of Buckingham. 1628.

Even while the struggle was going on, the popular hatred of Buckingham showed itself in a brutal manner. In the streets of London, the Duke's physician, Dr. Lambe, was set upon by the mob, called witch, devil, and the Duke's conjurer, and absolutely beaten to death.

The Council set inquiries on foot, but no individual was brought before it, and the rhyme went from mouth to mouth—

"Let Charles and George do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Doctor Lambe."

A label was set up on a post in Coleman Street, running thus—

"Who rules the kingdom?"
"The King."
"Who rules the King?"
"The Duke."
"Who rules the Duke?"
"The Devil."

Charles, shocked and grieved, took his friend in his own coach through London to see the ten ships which were being prepared at Deptford for the relief of Rochelle. It was reported that he was heard to say, "George, there are some that wish that both these and thou might perish. But care not thou for them. We will both perish together if thou doest."

There must have been something strangely attractive about the man who won and kept the hearts of four personages so dissimilar as James and Charles of England, Anne of Austria, and William Laud. The last mentioned was at this time translated from the see of Bath and Wells to that of London, to the great discontent of the citizens, who where vehement Puritans, for the most part "heady and high-minded."

At the same time, a gentleman of the wardrobe at Windsor Castle, as he afterwards declared, received repeated visitations from the spirit of Sir George Villiers, the father of Buckingham, entreating him to warn the Duke that his life was in danger unless he could win back the favour of the people.

In the meantime, Rochelle held out. All the best blood in France had mustered at the siege, and it needed all the Cardinal's ability to make them act together, since the marshals and lieutenant-generals would take no orders save from the King himself, so that each necessarily had a separate command. Marshal Bassompierre occupied the left of the large basin that forms the harbour, the Duke of Angoulême the opposite side, and Marshal Schomberg was between them, behind the town.

The Cardinal, who was the real director of everything, began the construction of a bar across the harbour, built of solid stone, to be open in the middle so as to permit the ebb and flow of the tide, but to hinder the entrance of supplies. It was further defended by a palisade

of posts and beams chained together, floating on the water outside. This work went on all the winter, often hindered by the weather driving in the stormy seas of the Bay of Biscay, and there was little more of active assault done. The King grew weary and wanted to return to Paris, and at the same time wished, for his own credit, to say that the Cardinal thought it expedient for him to go; but Richelieu, who needed his presence to satisfy the proud nobles, would not say any such thing, but rather told him it concerned his reputation to remain. After much grumbling, however, Louis set forth for Paris on the 10th of February, 1626, to see what intrigues were on foot between the two queens and his brother Gaston, who had lost his wife, the heiress of Montpensier, at the birth of a daughter named Anne. The Queen-mother wanted to marry him again, and he was endeavouring to avoid a marriage which could restrain his dissipated habits. The King, who was jealous of him as his heir, and did not want to see a son born to him, seconded him, and in April returned to Rochelle.

The bar was far advanced; a line of circumvallation twelve miles in the circuit had been drawn round the city, and defended by forts at intervals; there were batteries on each side of the entrance to the harbour, vessels were lashed together to protect the bar, and the army numbered 25,000 men, well fed and well paid. Food was already running short within the city, when the King, on his arrival, sent a summons to surrender.

But as a first instalment of the promised aid, Charles I. had despatched thirty ships, escorting twenty, laden with supplies, under the Earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, and arriving on the 11th of May, a Rochellois, named Bragenau, who was in the fleet in the middle of the night, crossed the unfinished bar in a little boat, and brought the news.

There was a transport of joy. The Rochellois thought themselves delivered. They put up flags and fired salutes, while Bragenau told them that if they would break through the bar, the fleet would at once sail in to their relief. But to break the bar was not possible to the citizens, and they watched for an attack on the English side. Soubise urged on Denbigh, and he sailed towards the bar and fired a few ineffectual shots; but he judged the attempt far too dangerous in the face of the whole French fleet and army and all their batteries; and he sailed away, to the bitter disappointment of the Rochellois.

One last proposal was made to Guiton to make his way out to them, and become an English subject. "No," he said, "better belong to a King who is able to take this city than to one who is not able to succour it."

Whether a Drake or a Hawkins would have found some expedient is another question, but the generation of Englishmen who had grown up in peace had no experience of expedients, and if Denbigh had risked the attempt, his thirty vessels must have perished against such fearful odds.

CAMEO XVII.

Murder of Buckingham. 1628.

Still the messenger had said that a larger armament was preparing, and faint hopes were entertained that the Duke de Rohan might come to the rescue by land. So, in hopes of being able to hold out a little longer, on the 24th of May the posterns were opened, and troops of women, children, and old men came out, and moved towards the King's encampment. In such a case Henri IV. had, with tears in his eyes, caused the poor fugitives to be well fed, and conducted safely away; but Louis XIII. and the Cardinal had them driven in again by force, and, knowing that beans had been sown on the counterscarps, these were cut down as soon as they began to sprout.

The horses had been eaten up, boiled leather and parchment were the food of most, and at low tide the starving creatures went to collect shell-fish, but were often shot down by the soldiery. There was an attempt to rise and compel the mayor to surrender, but he repressed it sternly, and hung the leaders. "We will hold out," he said, "as long as there is one citizen to shut the gates."

Another hope failed them, for the young Duke of la Tremouille, Mornay's pupil, nephew to the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon, came to the camp to abjure Calvinism before the Cardinal. The King of England was, however, preparing an armament which might yet bring deliverance. The fleet was at Portsmouth, and Buckingham went down thither in high spirits to take the command. The King came down to Sir Daniel Norton's house at Southwick.

On the 23rd of August Buckingham rose, and "cut a caper or two" before the barber dealt with his moustache and lovelocks. Then he was about to sit down to breakfast with a number of captains, and as he rose he received letters which made him believe that Rochelle had been relieved. He said he must tell the King instantly, but Soubise and the other refugees did not believe a word of it, and there was a good deal of disputing and gesticulation between them. He crossed a lobby, followed by the eager Frenchman, and halted to take leave of an officer, Sir Thomas Fryar. Over the shoulder of this gentleman, as he bowed, a knife was thrust into Buckingham's breast. There was an effort to withdraw it; a cry "The villain!" and the great Duke, at thirty-six years old, was dead!

The attendants at first thought the blow came from one of the noisy Frenchmen, and were falling on them; but one of the servants, the only person who had actually seen the stroke given, followed close on a man who, dropping his hat, had gone out into the garden. The servant was attacking him, when Major Farmer, coming up, asked what they were fighting for, when their lord was murdered.

"This is the fellow who did it," cried the servant.

Farmer turned to the man, who gave up his sword to him, saying, "I do so, knowing you as a gentleman."

He said his name was John Felton, and that in his hat would be found a paper declaring why he had done this. It declared that a man was unworthy of the name of soldier or gentleman who would not die

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Arrest of Felton. 1628.

for the good of his country; but the officers around knew that Felton had a grudge of his own, as not having met with the promotion he expected, and not having received his pay. He was guarded in the kitchen, while tidings were sent to the King of the death of the man whom above all others he had loved.

Charles was at morning prayers in Southwick church. He would not rise from his knees, nor suffer the service to be disturbed, but as soon as it was over, he repaired to his chamber and gave way to bitter grief, throwing himself on his bed weeping bitterly, and mourning for some days. A royal chaplain was sent to examine Felton, who answered, "Sir, I shall be brief. I killed him in the cause of God and my country." He gave no further answer, and denied having any accomplices, and he was sent to London to take his trial.

The King took the widow, who had been within sound of her husband's death-cry, under his protection, and desired that the body of "his martyr" should be buried in Westminster Abbey. The Londoners, however, were in such a mood that the actual corpse was interred secretly, and only an empty coffin carried at the funeral from Wallingford House to the Abbey. The trainbands had to guard the procession, beating their drums to drown the malevolent cries of the mob.

Felton was examined again and again, but still denied, and no doubt with truth, that he had had any instigators to his deed. Lord Dorset threatened him with torture. "Then," said he, "I will accuse you, my lord, and no one else." But this was only a threat. It was one of the triumphs of humanity that Felton was not racked, and that when tried and convicted of the assassination he was simply hanged as he would have been for the murder of an obscure peasant. Three months' imprisonment, and constant visits from the clergy, had led him to view his action in a different light, and when sentence was pronounced on him he held up his right hand saying, "This is the instrument that did the fact, I desire it may be first cut off."

The judge told him that the loss of the hand was the punishment for striking a blow in the precincts of a royal palace, and that the law only required him to die by hanging. Felton bowed, thanked the judge, and went bravely to his execution.

The command of the fleet was given to Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsay, a brave man of some experience in warfare, although not especially of naval matters, but it had not yet been recognised that a special education was needed for a command by sea. He brought 140 sail, and six thousand men, with Soubise and other Huguenot refugees. On the 29th of September he endeavoured to break through the floating palisade which guarded the bar by means of some petards, but in vain. Fruitless, also, was the next day's attempt, when he sent a fire-ship full of stones and with 12,000 pounds of powder to blow up the bar. It exploded too soon and effected no damage. It was followed by the fleet, whence 5,000 cannon shot were fired in the endeavour to break

CAMEO XVII.

Offer of surrender from Rochelle. 1628.

through the bar, but so complete were the French defences that only twenty-eight men were killed. The English had to retreat with the tide, but they returned to the charge on the ensuing day, though with slackened ardour, for it was plain that they had come too late. Soubise and Laval, a brother of the Duke of la Tremouille, entreated Lindsay to let them lead another attempt, but he did not think fit to intrust the English fleet to a pair of desperate refugee foreigners. All he could now attempt was to make favourable terms for the unfortunate Rochellois, and he sent a gentleman named Montagu with a flag of truce to the French camp, to demand that the Rochellois should receive pardon and liberty of conscience, and that the English in the garrison should receive quarter.

The answer was that the Rochellois were subjects of the King, who would dispose of them as he saw fit, and that the King of England had no concern in the manner. As to the English, they would be treated like the French who were made prisoners. However, Montagu thought the Cardinal inclined to make a peace with England, in which the Huguenots might be included, and he hastened home to make his report to Charles.

But the unhappy Rochellois were in no condition to wait; 16,000 of the inhabitants were dead, and the streets were full of corpses, and of poor creatures too weak to reach their homes. Guiton at last ceased to imprison any one who sighed aloud for surrender, and four deputies were sent on the 27th of October to treat with the Cardinal.

"Your brethren in the English fleet have already asked pardon," said the Cardinal.

They seemed incredulous.

"You shall see them," said the Cardinal; "but not a word must be spoken on pain of death."

So a pastor and a gentleman, who had been delegates to Charles, and who had actually come from the fleet to negotiate, were brought in. They embraced their gaunt and wasted friends with tears, but not a sentence was allowed to pass, and thus the astute Richelieu was able to convince each party of the hopelessness of perseverance. The Rochellois looked like shadows, but there was little pity for them. In Louis XIII. the Italian cruelty had poisoned the generous strain of Henri IV. His feeble, indolent mind liked to be stirred by the sight of physical suffering. Richelieu was hard and unmoved, and would carry out his purpose without the least regard to mercy, but he was too great a man not to be struck with admiration for the constancy of his enemies, and the spirit with which "these mere shadows of men," as he describes them, stipulated for liberty of conscience and all their privileges and franchises. Moreover, he was anxious that the affair should be concluded before Montagu could bring back an answer from the King of England, and that the English fleet should actually witness the surrender. He therefore promised the inhabitants their lives, pardon for their rebellion, the free enjoyment of their property, and

the exercise of their religion—no more. These terms were signed by Marshal de Marillac, as it was not etiquette for a King to treat with his subjects.

On the 29th of October twelve deputies came from the town. They had to be brought in Bassompierre's carriages, for they were too weak to walk. They were set down at the house inhabited by the King, and Richelieu led them to his presence. They knelt before him, wasted and hollow-eyed.

"Sire," they said, "we own our crimes and rebellions, and ask mercy, promising to be faithful for the future if your Majesty will deign to remember the services we were enabled to render to the King your father."

Louis kept them waiting for some minutes. Then he said—

"I know you have always been malicious, and have done your utmost to shake off the yoke of my authority; nevertheless, I pardon your rebellion, and will be good to you."

Thus he dismissed them; but his officers gave them a good dinner, and some provisions were sent into the city, otherwise no one would have been alive, nor the garrison have had strength to march out. They went, as had been agreed, the soldiers each with a white staff, the officers with their swords by their side. The French army looked at them with amazement. They were all gaunt skeletons, and there were but sixty-four French and ninety English; all the rest had been killed in sallies or had died of hunger and the diseases in its wake.

Then the Cardinal set forth at the head of the troops to enter the place. Guiton met them at the gates with six archers. He was going to speak, but the Cardinal said—

"Retire. Dismiss your archers, and never call yourself mayor again on pain of death."

Guiton went back without a word to his house, once splendid, now a scene of desolation. The streets were full of corpses, which the survivors had no strength to bury. The soldiers were full of compassion; each man had a loaf on his haversack, and these they gave away to the famished creatures, who had not seen bread for five months. Provision-sellers flocked in, and the soldiers were set to work to clear the streets, and clean the churches—especially those which were to be restored to the Catholics, and which were also purified.

On the 1st of November, 1628, Cardinal Richelieu and the newly-appointed Archbishop of Bordeaux said their All Saints' masses in two of these churches, and the King made his solemn entry. The old Duchess de Rohan and her daughter had not been included in the treaty, and were sent off to prison at Niort, with only one servant. They contrived to send word to the Duke that he was to attend to none of their letters, since they could not tell what they might be forced to write.

On the 10th of November the Rochellois learnt their punishment. All the Church property was restored, the parish churches again given

CAMEO XVII.

Peace of Alais. 1629.

back to the Catholics, the principal one made into a cathedral, as the place was to become a bishopric. All the fortifications, except those towards the sea, were to be destroyed, and no weapons nor ammunition to be allowed to any inhabitant. The municipal privileges were taken away, and no person might settle in the place without express permission from the King, who established an "intendant" there to see these orders carried out, and then set forth for Paris.

Cardinal de Berulle was transported with delight. He gave thanks in the church of Ste. Marguerite, and presented a picture of the Nativity, by Le Sueur, to the church where he had first felt his assurance of the reduction of the town.

The Duke de Rohan was still waging a partisan war with the Prince of Condé in Languedoc, but his cause was hopeless, and the army of Rochelle was at leisure to turn against him. Town after town surrendered to them, and Rohan resolved to make peace while it was still possible to obtain favourable terms. A conference took place at Alais, and in 1629 a treaty was signed leaving the Huguenots all that the Edict of Nantes had secured to them, except their guarantee cities. The old Duchess was released with her daughter, but she was worn out with her sufferings and soon after died. Her son the Count de Laval abjured, and took Holy Orders, but the Duke de Rohan continued steadfast to "*la Religion*," as Calvinism was now commonly termed.

CAMEO XVIII.

WALLENSTEIN.

1625—1630.

England.
1603. James I.

Germany.
1619. Ferdinand II.

France.
1610. Louis XIII.

Spain.
1621. Philip IV.

Rome.
1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XVIII.
—
The Protestant cause.

THE Protestant cause in Germany seemed to be in a desperate state, and with the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church was linked that of the house of Austria. France was too much occupied with the siege of Rochelle to interfere according to her usual policy of support to the German princes against the Emperor, and Ferdinand was on the way to be far more powerful than any of his predecessors.

However, there were other powers more directly interested in the Lutheran cause, not only politically but religiously, namely, Sweden and Denmark, where an Episcopal Lutheranism had been established by the strong hands of Gustavus Vasa and Christian III. In Sweden it is possible that the apostolical succession may have been kept up, though not valued; in Denmark it had certainly been dropped.

The ruling Kings of Sweden and Denmark were at this time the young Gustaf II.—Gustavus Adolphus as history usually calls him—and Christian IV., brother to James I.'s queen, and thus uncle to Charles I. and Elizabeth of Bohemia. They had only lately concluded a war between themselves, and Gustavus was still fighting with Russia, so that the Thirty Years' War did not engulf Sweden till a later period. Christian II. was greatly esteemed by his own subjects. He had established trading companies in Iceland, Greenland, America, and India; made roads, established a university and military and naval colleges, greatly adorned Copenhagen, and had done his best to improve the condition of the serfs, who were ground down by the nobles. He had greatly disapproved of his niece's expedition to Bohemia; but when she was a fugitive, he was willing to co-operate with England to restore her husband, though finding that James I. would do nothing, he held back, and the ruin followed in consequence. He was Duke of

CAMEO XVIII.

Treaty with Denmark. 1625.

Holstein, and thus a member of the Imperial Diet, and he had obtained for one of his sons the lay bishopric of Verden and the reversion of the archbishopric of Bremen, so that he was interested in keeping up the custom of Protestant princes holding these secularised dioceses; and he well knew that the Roman Catholic dominion would soon put an end to such an anomaly. After some negotiation in 1625, Christian therefore undertook, on Charles I. engaging to pay him 30,000*l.* a month, that he would enter Germany with his army and 6,000 English. The Circle of Lower Saxony chose him for its commander, Mansfeld joined him with the remnant of the German army, and the English actually paid him 40,000*l.* by way of a beginning.

Elizabeth and her husband felt their hopes revive. They made a progress into North Holland, which was amusingly described in letters from one of Elizabeth's maids of honour. The ladies wore hats instead of hoods, a new fashion at the time, and thus the country people took them for boys; and at Haarlem the burgomaster fancied the rule for hats must be the same for ladies as for gentlemen, and seeing the Queen bareheaded in the house, repeated '*Couvrez vous, madame,*' till she put on her hat. The good folk were shocked at the extravagance of the long dresses, and still more at the six horses which drew the coaches; but the authorities entertained their guests so well that Elizabeth seems to have had plenty of enjoyment on her trip, for amid all her troubles she preserved a buoyant spirit.

On her return to the Hague, she gave a great entertainment in honour of her brother's marriage, but the English ambassador would not come to it. He was Sir Albert Morton, a great friend of hers, and she had been shortly before driving out with him in his coach when they encountered that of the French representative, who claimed precedence over the English one. Sir Albert held that a King's daughter naturally should go before any ambassador; the Frenchman persisted, and Elizabeth gave way; but not so the ambassador, who considered himself bound not to meet the Frenchman if he were to yield a jot to him. Such encounters were constantly taking place between ambassadors, till the matter was finally settled by giving the precedence according to length of residence at the court instead of the dignity of the monarch represented.

On the 18th of July, 1625, the imperial general, Count Tilly, crossed the Weser into Lower Saxony, and at the same time Bethlem Gabor threatened Transylvania. The Emperor was in the greatest perplexity. He had hardly any power over Maximilian of Bavaria, and not much over Tilly, and he had not resources to raise a single regiment on his own account; but in the midst of his difficulties a Bohemian noble came forward to offer to provide an army at his own expense. This was Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Waldstein, or, as he came to be better known, Wallenstein. He was of a noble old family in Bohemia, and was born in 1583. He had been designed to be a scholar, but his fierce turbulent nature made his father decide on placing him as a page with one of the

CAMEO XVIII.

Youth of Wallenstein.

Austrian archdukes. His father soon after died, and his guardians put him under the strict teaching of the Bohemian brethren, since called Moravians, against whose teaching he revolted, and was wild and violent in conduct until a remarkable escape from injury in falling from a window gave him a strong religious impulse, under which he fled to a Jesuit College at Olmutz, and became a Roman Catholic. He then travelled through Holland, England, France, Spain, and Italy, and took up his abode for some time at the University of Padua, where he studied mathematics, astronomy, and especially astrology, with which he became so thoroughly imbued that the stars were the real guides of his life, and he had little actual faith in anything else. On his return he married a rich old widow in Moravia, and served as an officer under Ferdinand, while still Archduke of Styria. His old wife dying, he married the daughter of Count Harrack, and became known for his splendour of life and decision of character. When the Bohemians revolted, he was in command of one of the regiments in the service of the Estates of Moravia. Finding all resolved against the Emperor, he seized the treasure-box of the Estates, flung himself on his horse, and rode off with it to Vienna; but there Ferdinand was too honourable to accept of money thus captured, and returned it to the Moravians to be used against himself. He raised a regiment of a thousand horse at his own expense, and took part in the battle of the White Hills and the subjugation of Bohemia.

There, having money at his disposal, he was able to traffic in estates with the nobles whose lands were sequestrated or burthened as a penalty for their rebellion, and he thus gained such wealth that he was by far the richest subject in Bohemia. He kept up the utmost state, and his gravity and sternness were such as to impress the imagination of all who approached him. It was said that he never smiled, and the only person with whom he unbent was his Italian astrologer, Serlo.

In Ferdinand's distress, Wallenstein came forward with offers to raise an army of 30,000 men, and equip them at his own expense, also to feed and pay them without calls on the treasury, and without more than casual plunder, provided the Emperor would authorise him to levy contributions on the cities and states through which he passed. Ferdinand accepted the offer, though he never thoroughly trusted one whom he felt to be an instrument beyond his management.

The grand, unapproachable and mysterious general was the hero of the soldiery, and though his discipline was severe, the equipments he gave were perfect and the pay secure, so that hosts flocked to his banner. Count Pappenheim, his cavalry general, was a man of mark, of great personal strength and undaunted spirit, a devout Catholic, blameless in private life, tender and affectionate. He was the darling of the soldiers, whom he led to victory, and alas! in spite of all his virtues, he accepted their ferocity as a matter of course. Wallenstein was under orders to go and support Tilly against the Danes, but he did not choose to be second

CAMEO XVIII.

Death of Christian of Brunswick. 1626.

in command, and besides, he would not risk his new and raw army against the well-organised Danes until he had them fully in hand. He therefore led them into the secularised Bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, where he made the inhabitants pay heavily for their support, while he brought them into full power of acting together.

So passed the winter, in vain negotiation between the higher powers, and with the spring the war began again. Wallenstein and Tilly had 70,000 men between them, Christian of Denmark, Christian of Brunswick, and Mansfeld, 60,000; but while Wallenstein and Tilly forced contributions from the enemy, Christian II. was disappointed of the subsidies promised by England, which the Parliament refused to grant to King Charles until their own grievances were redressed.

The campaign began by an endeavour of Mansfeld to cut off Wallenstein from Tilly, and a battle was fought at the bridge of Dessau, which had been strongly fortified by Wallenstein. Mansfeld was totally defeated, and marched off towards Hungary to join Bethlem Gabor. The romantic Christian of Brunswick was left behind, dying, not of wounds, but of a painful disease, at the age of twenty-nine.

Elizabeth was greatly grieved at his death, and after the birth of her daughter, Henrietta, she was so ill that her brother sent the Queen's own physician, Theodore Mayerne, to attend her.

King Christian could stay no longer where he was, for he had no more money, and supplies had failed him. All he could attempt was a dash through Thuringia, in the hope of joining Bethlem Gabor and Mansfeld, in whose favour the Austrian Protestants were fast rising. But Tilly, reinforced by soldiers lent him by Wallenstein, pursued the Danes and overtook them at Lutter on the 27th of August, 1626. The Danish troops cried out for pay, fought ill, and were routed.

Mansfeld and Bethlem Gabor were meanwhile confronted by Wallenstein, who did not fight, but watched them and harassed them, while disease was doing its work on their armies and on themselves. Bethlem at length made peace, and one condition that was imposed on him was the expulsion of Mansfeld from Hungary. The Count then sold his artillery to the Turkish Pasha of Buda, and set out with only twelve men, meaning to make his way through Bosnia to the Venetian dominions, and thence return to Germany. He reached Zara, and there fell sick of a fever. Like the son of the old Northern heroes, he refused to die in his bed. 'Raise me,' he cried, 'I am dying now.' So, supported upright, he gazed on the dawn, and murmured, 'Be united! be united! Hold out like men.'

Bethlem Gabor died the same autumn, and thus, in the eighth year of the war, 1627, a large proportion of the first actors therein were removed.

Meantime Elizabeth kept her little court at the Hague, where the Prince of Orange complimented her by asking her to stand godmother to his young heir. Here, too, she had the pleasure of making a match between the noble and enthusiastic James Stanley, Lord Strange,

CAMEO XVIII.

Success of Wallenstein. 1627.

eldest son of the Earl of Derby, and Charlotte, daughter of the Huguenot Duke of la Tremouille, who was nearly related to the Elector Palatine. A portrait of her is extant, painted by Rubens at this period, a brilliant, buxom maiden, in a large hat and crimson dress, just as she must have been when she won the true heart of Lord Strange.

Wallenstein was rewarded for his services by being created Duke of Friedland, but there were numerous disputes among such conflicting interests. The Catholic League expected Wallenstein to support his army wholly by contributions from Protestants; and he, on the contrary, declared the Emperor's right to call for supplies from both alike. He never troubled himself about the religious opinions of his army, but hired Protestant and Catholic alike; and he tried to persuade the Emperor to regulate the Empire in the same manner, only looking at the rights of the princes; but this Ferdinand was never likely to do, as it would have been against all his principles. There were also minor disputes about the confiscated lands, and how they should be disposed of. The Bishopric of Halberstadt, which had been held in so strange a manner by the wild hero, poor Christian of Brunswick, was given to the Emperor's son, Leopold Wilhelm, who was really an ecclesiastic. He had been so devout from his infancy that his family called him 'the angel'; and his prayers were thought specially efficacious. He was extremely fond of pictures, antiquities, and botany, but as an act of self-denial he would not smell a flower! Yet devout as was Ferdinand as well as the youth, there was no scruple about heaping benefices on him. At eleven years old he was Abbot of Maurbach and Neiders, and Bishop of Strasburg and Bremen, and he was only sixteen at this time, when he was nominated to Halberstadt. At Magdeburg Wallenstein turned out the Protestant Bishop, one of the house of Brandenburg, and obliged the Canons to chose a son of the Elector of Saxony; but Catholic and Churchman though this prince was, the Emperor caused the election to be annulled, and once more put in Leopold, to whom he also gave a considerable abbey taken from Hesse, and crowned all with the Archbishopric of Bremen.

He seems to have thought himself predestined to reconquer Europe to the Roman Catholic Church with such an instrument as Wallenstein, and even thought of dethroning the two Scandinavian kings! He tried to get a hold of the Hanse towns, so as to have a footing on the Baltic Sea, but the stout citizens knew their own interests too well to agree to this; and his next step was to put the two dukes of Mecklenburg under the ban of the Empire, and make Wallenstein his generalissimo by land and sea, though all the exertions of that great general could only get fifteen ships together. He then invaded the Duchy of Pomerania without the least excuse, save that the reigning Duke Bogislav was the last of his race, and the fief must be secured for the Emperor! Then, having occupied the isles of Rugen and Dunholm, he summoned Stralsund, which, though nominally Pomeranian, was a Hanse town and independent.

CAMEO XVIII.

Siege of Stralsund. 1628.

But the citizens were brave, and they had heard stories of the ferocity of the soldiery which determined them to hold out to the utmost. Wallenstein declared it his principle never to let anything be held back from him, and the siege began, while the burghers swore to one another to defend their religion and liberty to the last drop of their blood. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden sent them supplies of provisions and powder, and though Wallenstein declared that he would have Stralsund, though it were fastened by chains to heaven, and told a deputation of burghers that he would lay all their towns as flat as the top of the table, still he made no progress. A sally drove him out of Dunholm, his first defeat; and after the siege had lasted from March to August he drew off his forces.

In the meantime, Charles I., by means of a forced loan, had contrived to send Sir Charles Morgan and about 6,000 men to the aid of his Danish uncle; but his subjects would let him do no more, and the war was equally unpopular in Denmark. King Christian was driven step by step out of Lower Saxony, and then into Holstein, his own duchy. Town after town fell into Tilly's hands, and at Stadt, Morgan and his men were made prisoners. Glückstadt, however, held out gallantly, and the successful resistance of Stralsund not only encouraged opposition, but showed Wallenstein that schemes of power on the Baltic must be given up. The Catholic Electors, too, were manifesting alarm and displeasure at the predominance of Austria, the Catholic League could not be depended on, and in order to be free to deal with the enemies at home, both Ferdinand and Wallenstein felt that they must be free from the Danes. On his side, Christian was worn out with the struggle, and the war was highly unpopular in the country.

So the mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg was accepted. Christian engaged not to interfere again in the affairs of the Empire, unless his rights as Duke of Holstein were invaded, and he received back the whole of his hereditary dominions. Envoys were sent from Sweden but were not admitted to the conference at Lubeck, where peace was signed in the May of 1629 between Denmark and Austria.

The Emperor now had two objects, to reward his general, and to restore the Church. The Catholic League, under Maximilian of Bavaria, were willing enough that the latter should be done, but they had the feelings of hereditary German princes when the haughty upstart Bohemian was invested with the old dukedom of Mecklenburg, and its hereditary prince expelled.

Maximilian held the greater part of the Palatinate. Here he used every means of expelling Protestant pastors, and putting in Catholic priests. Jesuits were sent to Heidelberg as missioners, and made many converts. In June, 1628, all the nobles had been informed that they must either change their religion, or give up their estates and go into exile. In September, the command was extended to the rest of the country. There were no burnings—no open persecutions; the war-wasted people

CAMEO XVIII.

Attempts at peace. 1629.

seem to have made no resistance, but to have accepted whatever gave them a hope of quiet.

Ferdinand meantime sent commissioners to discover what churches and property had been taken by Protestants since the pacification of Passau. All these were resumed, even at Nordlingen, where not a single inhabitant was Catholic. The subject of a German prince was, it was understood, necessarily of the same religion as his sovereign, and the restoration of two prince bishoprics and twelve smaller sees does not seem to have provoked much opposition in the dejected people from whom the ardour of converts had burnt out.

The Catholic League approved of all this, but they had been promised that Wallenstein's army should be reduced, whereas it had been increased to 100,000 men, whom he maintained out of forced contributions from the neighbourhood of his camps. The Friedlanders, as his troops were called, were as cruel and oppressive as any of the other enemies, and though Pomerania had been friendly to the Imperialists throughout the siege of Stralsund, the exactions were so fearful that the villagers were trying to exist on grass and leaves, and horrid stories were told of people eating their own children. Wallenstein was absolutely pitiless and remorseless to the people, and equally haughty and despotic to the princes. He was known to declare that the Emperor ought to be master of his own dominions, as the Kings of Spain or France were, and to be urging him to reduce the princes to the level of mere nobles. Cardinal de Richelieu fomented these discontents. There was a sharp war between France and Austria going on in Italy and Savoy about the Duchy of Mantua, which need not here be described, but one effect of it was to make the Pope, Urban VIII., as an Italian prince, dread the Emperor, and be willing to weaken him, staunch Catholic though he were. And Richelieu suggested to Urban that the way to do this was to make him dismiss his best general, and likewise alienate his subjects by insisting on the surrender of Church property. The Cardinal likewise sent his own great confidant and adviser, the Capuchin, Père Joseph, with the French ambassadors to Vienna, to represent privately to Ferdinand that he had better oblige the Catholic League, since he could at any time recall Wallenstein.

A Diet was convoked at Ratisbon, where the Emperor hoped to have his eldest son elected King of the Romans, but the Electors had represented to Ferdinand Wallenstein's exactions and the cruelties of his troops, and refused to choose the young Ferdinand, save on condition that Wallenstein was dismissed.

Père Joseph's counsel prevailed, as the Emperor had once said that if an angel and a monk gave him contrary advice he should follow the monk's. But the Capuchin also intrigued with the Electors when Wallenstein was dismissed, and they not only refused to choose the Archduke, but even talked of electing Maximilian of Bavaria.

Wallenstein quietly said, "I pity and forgive; I grieve for his weakness, and obey." He broke up his army of 100,000 men, and returned

CAMEO XVIII.

Death of Prince Frederick Henry. 1629.

home with sixty carriages containing his suite, and 100 waggons with their luggage. He took up his abode in the castle of Prague, where he kept princely state. Dark, silent, prompt, and resolute, gloomy and haughty, yet liberal of gifts, he was greatly dreaded and hated by most, and yet enthusiastically beloved by those who were in his service.

There were six gates to his palace, each guarded by a sentinel, fifty halberdiers in splendid uniforms waited in his ante-chamber, twelve watchmen patrolled the precincts to prevent the slightest noise—for of noise he had an absolute horror, when engaged in his high tower in the astrological calculations in which he implicitly believed. He would even have chains hung up to prevent the rumbling of vehicles in the surrounding streets. Six barons and as many knights waited on him, four gentlemen ushers presented his guests, sixty pages of high birth attended on him, and were trained in arts and arms. His steward was a baron of the Empire, his chamberlain equally noble, a hundred guests were daily provided for with royal splendour and profusion at his own table. His gardens were extremely costly and beautiful, and his horses ate and drank out of marble mangers, and from troughs supplied with streams constantly flowing from artificial fountains. Even in his retirement he kept all men's eyes on him by this splendour.

The year 1629 brought a great blow to the unfortunate ex-King and Queen of Bohemia. Frederick and his eldest son had gone out in a yacht to see the return of the West Indian fleet, when a collision took place with a much larger vessel, and their own sank. The Elector was saved by a sailor, but the young Frederick Henry, a youth of great promise, was drowned. The family was too poor for a costly funeral or a public mourning, and indeed, whatever was spent came from King Charles. There was, however, much lamentation in England, where the boy had been regarded as a promising Protestant heir.

Germany, however, had little compassion for the family which had begun the terrible war, not yet, alas! half finished. Indeed the lull of 1629 was as full of misery to the conquered Protestant states as the war itself, since they were required to accept the Romanist faith forced on them at the sword's point.

Some cities held out, notably that of Löwenberg, where the burgher women, finding their husbands decided on the worldly prudent measure of submission to the Edict of Restitution, all locked themselves up in the market house and left their husbands to take care of themselves and their babies, till the men folk yielded to the nearer tyrants. But the ladies of Löwenberg had to suffer cruelly for their resistance, and the Edict of Restitution to which Ferdinand had been urged by the cunning of Richelieu and the Pope, was working great wretchedness among those violently dispossessed of what indeed ought never to have been seized by their forefathers, but which seemed securely their own. Nor could a single Lutheran prince, city, or village feel secure.

CAMEO XIX.

THE SNOW KING.

(1630—1632.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

ONLY one great man appeared on the stage during the Thirty Years' War, and he was no native of the Empire. Indeed it has been remarked that none of the really able generals were Germans, but that they were Bohemian, Hungarian, Flemish, or Italian.

Denmark had made an attempt on behalf of the Protestant cause and had been beaten off the field; but even while the cunning Richelieu was making peace with the Emperor, and obtaining the dismissal of the best general of Austria, he was corresponding with the King of Sweden, and adding to the ardour of the impulse that made that young hero hope to be the deliverer of the liberties and faith of the Protestant princes.

Gustaf Adolf, his true baptismal name, was born at Stockholm in 1594, the son of Charles IX. of Sweden. From the first his father Charles IX., had him carefully educated by the learned Johann Skytte, and when only ten years old, he sat by his father in the Thing, and in the Councils of State, and was practised in replying to foreign envoys either in their own tongues or in Latin. His father had such expectations of his abilities that when a difficulty for the future was propounded, he would put his hand on the boy's head, and say "Here is he who will provide for this! *Ille faciet.* He will do it." By the time he was fifteen he could talk with ease in German, Dutch, French, Italian, and Latin, and was learning Greek. Throughout his life, he kept up his studies as much as possible, giving an hour or two a day whenever he could, to study. He read in the original, Hugo Grotius's great Latin treatise on the Law of Nations in peace and war, and he studied in the Greek the works of Xenophon, whom he regarded as the greatest military writer. At fifteen, his father sent him to practise

CAMEO XIX.

Youth of Gustavus.

government in Finland and Esthonia, with Skytte to direct both his affairs and studies. At sixteen, according to the old northern custom, his father presented him to the Thing, and invested him with sword and shield. He was a true northern champion, very tall and powerful, of unusual strength, fair-complexioned, golden-haired, and with bright blue eyes which were, however, near-sighted, and he was gentle and dignified in manner, though of an eager, hasty temper. He was a man of deep piety, daily studying the Holy Scriptures, and showing the influence of his religion in his whole life and conduct. He said the Bible should ever be the study of Kings, since to God only were they accountable for their actions. Yet there was something of the old Berserkar fury about him in battle. He was always impetuous in speech and council, hard to restrain by his wise minister, Oxenstierna, and in battle he was absolutely carried away by excitement, and exposed himself to danger in a manner scarcely befitting a man on whose life so much depended. He was once dragged with difficulty out of a frozen bog under the horses' feet, and often had his horse killed under him, but until his last fatal battle, he never received a wound.

In 1611, the year of his knighthood, his father died, and the first years of his reign were passed in petty wars with Denmark, Russia, and Poland, in which he was often in great personal danger. In the intervals, he did much for the improvement of his kingdom, and he thought out and established a discipline that made his soldiers exceedingly unlike the terrible bands of Tilly and Wallenstein. There was a firm hand over them, which punished all crimes, such as impiety, theft and violence, permitted no plunder, made the services of the chaplains no mere empty form, and while taking the soldiers' families and the necessary attendants under the protection and discipline of the camp, permitted none of the disorderly camp followers who were a worse scourge than the regiments themselves, His service was the only one where there was any heed to the comfort of the soldiers, whom he viewed as men with souls and bodies to be cared for, not as parts of a machine, and food for powder Old Tilly's saying was "A bright musket, a ragged soldier," but Gustavus took care that his men should be well fed, shod, and clothed, with sheepskins for the winter, and sound tents, and while other armies left their wounded to chance, he provided four surgeons for each regiment. He knew all his officers and many of his men by sight, and if he saw a man deficient in his exercises, he would himself give instruction, with great mildness and patience. Though strict with the officers, he was lenient with the rank and file, to whom the camp was like a home, and the King a father. There were schools for them, and for their children, and regular services. In spite of this strictness, his service was very popular, but he was unwilling ever to have more than 40,000 men in his army, since larger numbers could hardly have been kept in this perfect state of order. Many of the English and Scottish gentlemen

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Gustavus' invasion. 1630.

who longed for enterprise were among his officers, and there were altogether 10,000 British in his army. There was a considerable resemblance between his character and that of our own Henry V., and just as the English King put a stop to the barbarous old ordeal of battle by declaring that he should hang the victor for murder, so Gustavus, after many vain endeavours, put an end to duelling in his army by coming to the spot where two officers were to meet accompanied by a guard and the executioner. "Fight till one is slain," said he, "and then," he added, turning to the executioner, "off with the head of the survivor!" In 1620, Gustavus made a tour *incognito* in Germany under the title of Monsieur Gars, a word composed of the initials of Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueviæ. He visited all the chief cities, ending with Berlin, where with better consequences than in the like expedition of his contemporary, Charles, he contrived to see the Elector's sister, Marie Eleonore of Brandenburg, a tall, handsome, stately lady, whom he soon after married.

Gustavus knew that the Emperor was trying to stir up disaffection in Sweden, and hoped when fully master of Germany to dethrone him and set up his cousin the Roman Catholic King of Poland. The expelled Duke of Mecklenburg was sheltered at Stockholm, and he felt himself called on for his kingdom's sake as well as that of his faith, to come to the rescue of the oppressed Germans. So he began to feel his way among the states on the south of the Baltic. Pomerania had been much oppressed by Wallenstein during the siege of Stralsund. The old Wendish line of Dukes had ended in a family of childless brothers, the last of whom, Duke Bogislav, was the reigning prince. He had never quarrelled with the Emperor, but it was hard to have troops quartered on his people for fear he should bequeath his dominions away from the Emperor, and here Gustavus meant to make his first attempt. On the 20th of May, 1630, the Thing was convoked at Stockholm, and the King appeared before it, holding in his arms his only child, Christina, a little girl of four years old, and asking his people for their oaths of allegiance to her in case he should never return. There was a sound of weeping among those strong men, and Gustavus could hardly command his voice to make them a brief address, showing how duty, not ambition, led him into the war, and ending by commanding all—counsellors, pastors, burghers, and bonders to the protection of Heaven.

He took leave of his wife and child and embarked, landing first in Pomerania, where he immediately knelt in prayer on the shore, and as he rose, detecting some glances of astonishment among the officers, he said, "A good Christian is not the worse soldier. The man who has said his prayers has half his day's work done." He went to Stettin to see the old Duke Bogislav, to persuade him that neutrality was impossible. The Duke came out in a sedan chair to meet the King, who argued long with him, and at last the old man yielded, and begged the King to be a father to him. "I would rather be your son," said

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The Swedish army.

Gustavus, and, in fact, the Duke did name the King of Sweden as his heir. On the Duke's return, Gustavus, made sure of the place, by sending an escort of 200 Scotch musqueteers back with him. They received the submission of the garrison, and he encamped his men in tents on the ramparts instead of quartering them on the citizens. He himself slept in a ship on the Oder, saying that when the King slept in a hammock, a general's bed might be a fur cloak, and a soldier's clean straw. He went to church three times the next day, and told his staff, "that though war might be their amusement, religion was their business." Then he set his troops to raise fresh fortifications round Stettin, making the task agreeable by giving each man a draught of ale after every twenty turns of the basket of earth. All the garrisons Wallenstein had put into the towns of Pomerania and Mecklenburg were expelled, and the rightful Duke restored to the latter duchy.

Since the Elector of Brandenburg was brother-in-law both to Gustavus and the unfortunate Pfalzgraf, and was a Protestant, and his dominions were in great part those of the Teutonic knights, Ferdinand would have had extreme satisfaction in overthrowing him. This, however, made him only the more cautious and anxious to give no handle to his enemies. He had seen the Danish invasion repulsed, and he did not see why the Swedish should answer any better—indeed Gustavus was already called the Snow King who would melt away in the spring. So he sent an envoy named Von Wilmersdorf to persuade the King to come to terms with the Emperor and retreat, offering to be mediator as before with Denmark.

"I had expected a different kind of embassy," said Gustavus. He would not, of course, retreat, and he expected his loving cousin whom he meant to protect, to do his part. Said the envoy, "*It* is necessary to look to the future, and consider how all men fall to ruin if the undertaking does not prosper."

"That is just what will happen if you remain inactive, and would have done so already if I had not come," returned Gustavus. "My loving cousin ought to do as I have done, and commend the result to God. I have not lain on a bed for fourteen days. I ought to have spared myself this trouble, and sat at home with my wife, if I had no greater considerations."

"If his Electoral Highness should become mediator, your Kingly Majesty must at least allow his Electoral Majesty to remain neutral."

"Yes, till I come to his country. Such an idea is mere chaff, which the wind raises and blows away. What kind of a thing is that neutrality? I do not understand it."

Some of Georg Wilhem's reluctance really arose from a loyal unwillingness to unite with foreigners against the Emperor; but Gustavus could wait for the course of events; and in January, 1631, he signed at

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The French alliance. 1631.

Barwalde a treaty with France, in which Richelieu undertook to supply him with money, on condition that he would, in case of victory, respect the Catholic religion, and restore things to what they had been before the congress of Wallenstein.

The punctilios of the French Ambassador, de Charnacé, made much difficulty. He required that Gustavus should accept, not alliance, but protection, from Louis XIII., and that his master's name should always stand first. Gustavus replied with dignity that he would have no *protection* but God's, and that both parties were kings and therefore equal.

"Yes," said de Charnacé, "but all scarlet is not the same colour."

These follies were not allowed to prevent the treaty. And certainly if Louis and Gustavus had stood together personally, all the provinces in France would not have made the former degenerate being equal to the noblest man then living in Europe. However, the great Hugo Grotius went as ambassador from Sweden to France, where he was too sturdy to please Richelieu.

Ferdinand made light of the invasion. "We have got a new little enemy," he said, and he paid no attention to a last effort of the Protestant princes, who met at Leipsic in March, and declared that if the Edict of Restitution were withdrawn, they would take their places as obedient subjects, and never join with any foreign prince against him. At the same time, however, they agreed to levy soldiers, so as to be prepared for whatever might happen.

The Catholic League was more aware of the extent of the danger, and they sent Count Tilly to meet the Swede. The old General's plan was to get between the divisions of Gustavus's army, half of which was with the King in Pomerania, and half with his General, Horn, in Mecklenburg. While the council of princes was sitting at Leipsic, they heard tidings that Tilly had taken New Brandenburg, and destroyed the whole Swedish garrison of 2,000 men; but Gustavus swiftly united his army by rapid marches, made Tilly retreat upon the Elbe, and drove out all the garrisons from Frankfort-upon-Oder and the remaining fortresses of the Baltic.

The city of Magdeburg, which had been made over as a Bishopric to the Emperor's son, and forced back to Romanism, eagerly raised its standards and closed its gates, but without waiting till its lord, the Elector of Saxony, should give permission, or ally himself with the Swede. Certainly, according to rumour, there had been a portent to warn them, for it was said that a child had just been born, provided by nature with boots and spurs of flesh, and, moreover, with a pouch of skin on the left thigh containing two balls. It was fatal precipitation. Tilly besieged the city, and Gustavus sent an officer to direct the defence, but he could not march to relieve it till he was secure of the cities in his rear which belonged to Brandenburg and Saxony. He went himself to Berlin, and argued for two whole days with the Elector to induce him to give him leave to garrison Custrin and

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The siege of Magdeburg. 1631.

Spandau—"If not he must leave Magdeburg to its fate, and he should make peace and go home, while the Protestants must look to themselves."

At nine in the evening of the second day, George William yielded, and let him occupy the two cities; but John George of Saxony would hear nothing till he should have an answer from the Emperor as to the Edict of Restitution. Gustavus, with his small force, could not advance through Saxony without the cities being opened to him, and was forced to leave Magdeburg to its fate.

The place was ill provided. There were few soldiers; half the citizens thought they had been too hasty, and wanted to surrender, and others took their ease. The Swedish officer, Falkenberg, was killed, and when Pappenheim, Tilly's best leader, stormed the walls on the 13th May, 1631, he easily effected an entrance. The soldiery always held it as a right to work their will on a place taken by assault, and this caused the most horrible of all the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

It seems that in the midst of the assault a fire broke out, and in the general confusion it raged on. The soldiers, always savage, fancied the inhabitants wanted to baulk them of their plunder, and flew, sword in hand, upon every creature they saw, man, woman, and child. Stories were told of Tilly refusing to interfere, and saying, "The town must bleed; wait another hour." But in point of fact no living creature could have restrained the frenzy of those furious men dispersed throughout the city, too mad with rage, drink, and passion to hear even a trumpet note through the roar of flames, the crash of falling houses, the shrieks of their victims. Still, some had mercy. Pappenheim saved the governor, badly wounded, and brought him before the Commander-in-Chief, whom he boldly told that the honour of Tilly lay in the dust. A Lutheran pastor has left a very interesting account of his adventures. After being assailed by a soldier, who had a store of bullets laid up in his mouth and carried two muskets, he was saved, with his wife and servant, by a colonel, who planted sentinels at their door, and when the fire threatened it, took them to his tent. As they passed, the maid carried off a neighbour's little child, whom she saw crying at the door, and the Frau Pastorin saved her husband's gown, nothing else. However, they had buried their money, and when things were quieter, the maid was sent to disinter it, and they paid their ransom with it to the colonel, who had treated them like friends. Four days did this frightful scene last, and when it was over, there remained out of 40,000 inhabitants only 800, fled, hidden in cellars, or received to mercy; while of the prosperous German city, nothing was left standing save the cathedral, with 400 refugees in it, one convent, and a few houses round it. And in this scene of desolation a *Te Deum* was sung in honour of the victory!

The blood of the Protestants ran cold at the appalling tales told by the fugitives, and at the same time came the answer of the Emperor

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The sack of Magdeburg. 1631.

to the Protestant Princes. He would never go back from the Edict of Restitution; and he commanded them to lay down their arms, and not pretend to dictate to him. This, by the help of the sight of the Swedish cannon, made an end of the neutrality of Brandenburg. The Landgraf of Hesse Cassel came into the camp of Gustavus, and so did the gallant young Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, the descendant of the steadfast John and his wife Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector of Saxony, who had been dispossessed by Charles V. in favour of Moritz. The Elector still wavered. He would not declare for the cause of the foreigner, but he would not, even at the Emperor's repeated bidding, dismiss his troops.

Orders were sent that Tilly should bring him to obedience. Mersburg was seized, and Leipsic was brought to surrender by a threat of being treated worse than Magdeburg. The Elector was at last beyond his patience, and sent off messengers to entreat Gustavus to assist him, sending his newly levied troops, fine, strong, well equipped but untried men, to join with the Swedes in endeavouring to expel the Imperialists from his dukedom.

Tilly lay at Breitenwald, five miles from Leipsic, and against him the united force of Swedes and Saxons marched, "Remember Magdeburg," was their watchword. It was the first time Gustavus had been matched in a pitched battle against one of those veteran Austrians who had hitherto carried all before them; but on the other hand, Tilly is said to have been unnerved by the recollection of the horrors of Magdeburg, and to have shuddered when looking up from signing the capitulation of Leipsic, he saw that the walls of the rooms were painted with bones and skulls. It belonged to a grave-digger, and was the only house in the suburb not destroyed. After some deliberation, Tilly resolved on marching out to meet the enemy. His artillery cannonaded furiously for two hours, then he charged on the right, and the raw Saxon troops were soon broken, so that he sent couriers off to Munich and Vienna to announce the victory. However, Pappenheim's cavalry charged on the left, and here the Swedes had very different success. A strong body of musqueteers encountered the horsemen, and after repeated endeavours to break the line, they fell back in confusion. The King meanwhile had sent succours to the Saxons, who rallied and gained the flank of the Imperialists; and the moment that the Pappenheimers were definitely repulsed, Gustavus himself led a charge up the heights where the artillery of the enemy was posted, won it, turned the guns against their own army, and sent orders for an attack in flank by the Saxons, and in rear by his reserve, while the musqueteers who had repulsed Pappenheim were pushing on in front. The Imperialists fled, completely routed. Pappenheim, with seven wounds fell, was stripped and left for dead, but was saved by a peasant, who conveyed him the next day to Fulda. Tilly, with four regiments, who had been always attached to his service, and disdained to fly, tried to cut his way to the forest of Lembel. He was severely wounded, and cut off from his

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The battle of Breitenwald. 1631.

troops; and a huge Swede, called Long Fritz, was trying to make him surrender, when Maximillian of Saxe Lauenberg came to his rescue, shot the Swede, and conveyed the general to Halle. The four regiments refused quarter, and stood their ground by the forest till nightfall, when they made good their retreat in the dark. Only 2,000 men out of 20,000 could be collected again by Tilly, and all the artillery and baggage were lost. This battle, sometimes called Breitenwald, sometimes the First Battle of Leipsic, was fought on the 13th May, 1631, and was the first victory on the Protestant side that had been achieved. It was Tilly's first defeat after thirty battles.

It filled with joy those who had hitherto been depressed and hopeless. Cities which had dreaded to declare themselves for fear of the fate of Magdeburg began to lift up their heads, and vacillating princes to think that they could safely take the part which they preferred. Gustavus knew, however, that he must let the Germans do as much as possible for themselves, or he should arouse their national jealousy of him as a foreign conquerer. So he sent the Elector of Saxony to awaken the old spirit in Bohemia. As for himself, his great counsellor, Oxenstierna, wanted him to march straight on Vienna, but this was not his object. He wanted primarily to deliver the northern states, and to encourage the merchant cities, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, which had all along been Protestant, and to deliver the Palatinate from its oppressors. And, out of mortification, a strange ally offered himself, namely, Wallenstein, who wanted revenge on the Catholic League which had insisted on his dismissal, and the Emperor who had yielded to them. He was pleased at the defeat of his rival Tilly, though he said, "If such a thing had happened to me I should kill myself." He said that if Gustavus would trust him, he would soon get his old army together again, and chase Ferdinand and the Jesuits beyond the Alps.

But Gustavus did not trust him, though he sat quiet at Prague while the Saxons were in possession of the city, plundering everywhere, and the Elector sending off to Dresden fifty waggon-loads filled with the treasures of the Emperor Rudolf's museum. Count Thurm had come in with the army, and found on the bridge of Prague the skulls of twelve of his comrades in the rebellion. He reverently took them down, wrapped them in black satin, and interred them. Many exiles returned, and there was a general resumption of the Hussite form of worship.

Gustavus had marched to Erfurt, and then turned towards the Maine, where there was a long row of those prince bishoprics established on the frontier by the policy of Charlemagne—Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Fulda, Köln, Triers, Mentz, Wurms, Spiers. These had never been secularised, and were popularly called the Priest's Lane. They had given all their forces to the Catholic League, and Gustavus meant to repay himself upon them. He permitted no cruelties, no persecutions; but he levied heavy contributions, and his troops made

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The battle of Breitenwald. 1631.

merry with the good Rhenish wine when he kept his Christmas at Mentz.

He invited the dispossessed Elector Palatine to join him, and Frederick started for the camp, after the christening of his thirteenth child, taking a solemn leave of the Prince of Orange and the States-General. Among his attendants went the young Lord Craven, who had come from England out of a romantic devotion to the Queen. The suite was numerous enough to fill forty coaches, escorted by seventy horse—pretty well for an exiled prince dependent on the bounty of Holland and England. But the exiled Court had so far lived a merry life, regardless of debt, and Elizabeth wrote lively letters. There was plenty of hunting, and on one occasion it is said the young Prince Rupert was lost. Search was made, and at last a pair of boots were seen protruding from a hole. On pulling at these out came the prince's tutor, pulling Rupert after him, Rupert in his turn pulling out his favourite hound, and the hound pulling out a fox. The fox had gone into the hole, the hound had gone after the fox, the prince after the hound, the tutor after the prince, and for a wonder, none were suffocated.

Frederick found Gustavus at Frankfort, where the Queen of Sweden was present. To his great satisfaction he was greeted by his royal title, though he had never received it from either English king. There was much pleasant intimacy from this time between Gustavus and Frederick, who lived together as brothers-in-arms.

Once again Frederick saw his native home, and was greeted with the utmost joy by his people. There was the utmost enthusiasm for the Swede in England, and the Marquess of Hamilton obtained permission to raise a body of volunteers to join the Swedish standards, and in the August of 1631 brought 6,000 English and Scots in four small regiments; but they proved of little use, and speedily became diseased, many dying of eating heavy German bread and the new honey that abounded on the banks of the Oder.

Hamilton kept a most magnificent suite about him, forty pages and 200 guards attending on his person, comporting himself like a prince of the blood. He was only twenty-four, and if Gustavus had not managed with great tact he would have done great harm by his quarrels with Banier, the best Swedish general. Moreover his men melted away, until at last the remnants had to be united to the corps of Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, while Hamilton for a short time served with Gustavus as a volunteer, and then returned to Scotland.

So far as the King's plans can be understood he meant to have formed a number of Protestant principalities, and united them in what he called *Corpus Evangelicorum* around the Baltic and the Elbe, as a balance to the Austrian Roman Catholic power in southern Germany. Frederick wanted to raise an army of his own people and take the command, but to this Gustavus would not consent, having probably no great confidence in his capacity. All the Palatinate was free

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Entering Heidelberg. 1631.

from the enemy except the three fortresses of Heidelberg, Frankenthal, and Kreuznach, and the last of these was immediately besieged. Lord Craven was foremost in leading the assault, exposing himself so bravely that Gustavus clapped him on the shoulder, and told him he was doing his best to make his younger brother head of the family.

In the midst of the exultation Frederick was grieved to learn that his beautiful home at Heidelberg had been ravaged by fire, probably by the Spanish garrison in expectation of having to abandon it. But as Tilly was collecting his forces again, Gustavus would not wait to master that place or Frankenthal, and recrossed the Rhine. Sir Harry Vane had been sent as ambassador from Charles I. to arrange for the restoration of the Palatinate, the King offering 10,000*l.* a month for the expense of the war, and proposing that if, as was only too probable, he should be prevented from performing this promise, some of the fortresses should be left as guarantees in the hands of the Swedes.

Frederick took great and petulant offence at this stipulation, and complained, with tears in his eyes, to Vane and the Marquess of Hamilton, that he had rather have no treaty at all than one that should keep him in constant subjection to Sweden. He persuaded them to suppress this article, though they warned him that if the treaty failed it would be by his own fault. It did in fact fail, for, as usual, the English money was not forthcoming, and even if it had been, Gustavus declared that he would be no man's servant for a few thousand pounds. Frederick also refused the King's own stipulation, that Lutherans should enjoy equal rights with Calvinists.

Moreover, the Swedish success had been considerably more than was desired by his French allies, who had expected only a little vexatious diversion to the Imperialist advance, but who did not at all sympathise with the victorious career of a northern Protestant. The Bishop of Wurtzburg, who had been expelled from his principality, came to Paris, and made loud complaints that this heretic invasion of a new Alaric with his Goths should have the support of the Most Christian King, declaring that Gustavus meant, after conquering Germany, to invade France. Louis XIII. was distressed, but Richelieu silenced him, only attempting to make a treaty with the Swedes by which the Elector of Bavaria and the Catholic League should be neutral on condition of the restoration of the bishops. To this, however, Gustavus could not fully consent, and imposed conditions which the Catholics could not accept. Tilly was collecting his forces and threatening Nuremberg, but the Swedes advanced, and he was forced to retreat, so that it was as a deliverer that, on the 31st March, Gustavus was received in beautiful old Nuremberg with a rapture of welcome, tears streaming down the cheeks of elderly men, and women crowding to kiss his horse, his boots, his cloak, as they owned him as their deliverer. His portrait hung in every house, and a citizen

composed a pedigree to show that the King was connected with the old Burggrafen of the city. The enthusiasm saddened Gustavus's pious spirit. He said they were trusting to second causes and making him a god; but when they recollected Magdeburg, they thought no homage too great for one who had averted from them the like fate. Indeed he came upon them like an angel of deliverance, with his fair open face, bright steadfast blue eyes, and floating golden hair, shining like his cuirass. The Italians in the enemy's army called him "*Il Rè d' Oro*," the golden king.

Tilly had taken post on the Lech, and Maximilian was collecting an army in Bavaria. The object of Gustavus was now to beat one or other of them before they could join together: so he marched forward, took Donauwerth, and tried to take Ingoldstadt, but found it would occupy too much time, and though all the generals were of a contrary opinion, resolved to attack Tilly and force the passage of the Lech.

The Imperialists had fortified it to the utmost, but in their very teeth the Swedes succeeded in taking advantage of a bend in the river to play on them with their formidable artillery, construct a pontoon bridge, and, after a desperate struggle, effect a passage. Tilly was struck by a cannon-shot in the knee; his second in command, though also badly wounded, succeeded in carrying him off to Ingoldstadt, where the old captain died at seventy-three years of age, victorious in all save the two last of his thirty-two battles.

On went Gustavus to Augsburg, which Lutherans viewed with honour as the fountain head of their confession of faith, but where the Emperor had expelled the Lutheran pastors, and cleared the municipal council of Protestant burgomasters. In restoring the former state of things, Gustavus took a fresh step, making the magistrates not only swear fidelity to him as an ally till the end of the war, but as a sovereign. This made the Germans begin to wonder what were his ulterior views.

Then he marched on upon Bavaria, intending to bridge the Danube and take Ratisbon, but two strong *forts* prevented this. One he took, but before the other the Markgraf of Baden was killed, and the King's own horse was shot under him. He however, made his way into the country between the Inn and the Lech, Maximilian retreating before him. Mersburg, Landshut, and Freisingen, which tried to resist him, were burnt, but otherwise he kept good discipline and prevented plunder or injury to the inoffensive, as well as any insults to the Catholic Churches.

At Munich the inhabitants brought him their keys. As they knelt he said, "Rise, worship God, not man," and he rode in peacefully, with the Elector Palatine by his side, saying that he hoped one day to sup with him at Heidelberg.

"I confess I do not of all men pity the Elector of Bavaria," wrote Elizabeth; "the King of Sweden is but paying him what he lent us." Still of all the exquisite works of art already collected by the Bavarian

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Wallenstein comes forward. 1632.

Princes, not one was touched by Gustavus or Frederick, even by way of reprisals. Some of the officers wanted him to enrich Stockholm with a few of these precious spoils, but he said he had no mind to imitate the Goths and Vandals, their forefathers. To compensate the soldiers for not plundering the city, the King gave them each a crown on the day of their entrance, but he forgave the burghers a third of their contributions, and he distributed alms to the sick and poor. The ramparts were bare of cannon, and inquiry elicited that these had been buried, so Bavarian peasants were hired to dig for them, and up came one hundred and forty pieces, twelve very large indeed, the lowest and highest, commonly called the Sow, stuffed full of gold crowns. This Gustavus called waking up the dead.

Catholic Germany was in despair. There was only one general in whom there was any hope, and that was the discarded Wallenstein, who looked on at the general distress in grim assurance that the stars destined him to be called to the front. He made himself be courted. He would not come to Vienna, only to Znaim in Moravia, where he made his terms like an independent prince whose alliance was to be sought. He would not hear of being second in command to any one, even to the heir apparent, and professed to be perfectly indifferent, and reluctant to disturb himself, until he had been persuaded and flattered through his friend the Prince of Egenberg, who, all the spring after the battle of Breitenwald, went backwards and forwards mediating between him and the Emperor. At last he undertook to collect an army, but refused to take the command for more than three months.

His name was enough to bring his Friedlanders flocking to his standard. Not only Catholics, but Protestants came, viewing Gustavus as a foreign invader, or with their imaginations more touched by the proud, gloomy, haughty leader than by the bright, frank, honest, and hearty king. Besides, the Imperialist camp cared only for such discipline as made an effective soldier. The man might be what he pleased, and might revel in license and savagery without restraint. Indeed the Croats were defined as "a sort of Christians who did not regard the eighth commandment."

Wallenstein received subsidies not only from the Emperor, but from the Pope and the King of Spain, towards levying and equipping them, and by the end of the three months he had the full 40,000 all in full order for the march.

Then he resigned the command, well knowing by this time that Tilly was dead and the Swedes were on the Danube. He affected to be bent only on going back to his tower and his stars at Prague, and to yield slowly to the proposals made him. He was to be Generalissimo, neither Emperor nor Archduke was ever to enter his camp; he was to name all his officers, and have absolute control, no order from the Emperor being valid unless he countersigned it. Moreover, he might levy contributions as he chose, and dispose as he pleased of

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Junction of Wallenstein with Maximilian. 1632.

lands and property taken from the enemy; Mecklenburg was to be secured to him, together with further rewards yet unspecified; and when Bohemia was freed from the enemy, the Emperor was to live there, no doubt under his control.

In all his distress, the Elector of Bavaria was in consternation at these conditions, and Ferdinand writhed under them, but there was no help for it, and Wallenstein thus became the chief power in the Empire, in fact a dictator. The power was conferred on him in April.

The first thing he did was to turn the Saxons out of Bohemia, which was an easy matter; and, hoping to disunite the Protestants, he offered peace to the Elector John George, who had been so reluctant to join Gustavus, but the Saxon was steady to his oaths, and referred to the King. There were some negotiations which came to nothing, and the Elector of Bavaria came to join Wallenstein at Egra, a necessity which must have galled him almost as much as the loss of Munich. His arrival with his troops raised the Catholic force to 60,000.

The whole army marched upon Nuremberg, and Gustavus, with only 20,000 men, dashed back to its defence. Wallenstein had intrenched himself on an eminence called Fürth, which he so surrounded with earthworks and intrenchments as to make it more like a fortress than a camp, spreading his defences out for twelve miles round, and there following his favourite policy of avoiding battle till he could have such superiority of numbers as to deal a crushing blow.

Nuremberg meantime was terribly distressed. The fugitives from the country were crowding into it, famine and pestilence followed on them, people were dying in the streets, and Gustavus's own army was suffering from scarcity. The Germans who had flocked into it were habituated to plunder, they began to commit outrages, and Gustavus dreaded that the infection would spread to his Swedes. He sent for the chief German officers, and never before had he shown himself in such a rage.

"You! princes, counts, and nobles," he said, "you are showing your disloyalty and wickedness on your own fatherland. You, colonels and officers, from the highest to the lowest, it is you who steal, and rob every one without exception. You plunder your own brothers in the faith. You make me disgusted with you. My heart is filled with gall when I see any of you behaving so villainously. You cause men to say openly 'The King, who is our friend, does us more harm than our enemies.' If you were real Christians you would consider what I am doing for you, how I am spending my life in your service. I have given up the treasures of my crown for your sake, and have not had from your German Empire enough to buy myself a bad suit of clothes with."

Very strange must this speech have sounded to men who, under Christian of Brunswick, had held that robbing a fat merchant was a

CAMEO XIX. — *Attack on Wallenstein's camp.* 1632.

good joke, and that peasants were made to be trampled on. Gustavus went on—"Enter into your hearts, and think how you are grieving me, so that the tears are in my eyes. You treat me ill with your evil discipline; I do not say with your evil fighting, for in that you have behaved like honourable gentlemen, and for that I am much obliged to you. I am so grieved for you that I am vexed that I ever had anything to do with so stiff-necked a nation. Well then, take my warning to heart; we will soon show our enemies that we are honest men and honourable gentlemen."

A King, undoubtedly one of the bravest of men, with voice trembling and tears in his eyes for a miserable boor robbed of his cattle, was a new sight to these men. When he found a corporal driving off a poor man's cow, his words were almost like those of Joshua to Achan, "My son, it is better that I should punish you, than that God should punish not only you, but me and all of us for your sake."

Rather than let this state of things continue, Gustavus undertook the desperate measure of storming Wallenstein in his camp on the 24th August. By extreme valour he broke through the intrenchments, but though he poured in regiment after regiment, he could not succeed in penetrating to the centre; and when he had lost 3,000 of his own Swedes, and at least three times as many Germans, he was obliged to sound a retreat, and his old officers said that, compared with this day, Breitenwald was but child's play. For a fortnight he still continued to watch Wallenstein, but at last, after seventy-two days, he marched off towards the Danube past the camp with drums beating and colours flying, hoping to lure out the Imperialists to an attack; but for this Wallenstein was too wary. He durst not pursue the Swedes, nor assault Nuremberg which was secured by a Swedish garrison; but he broke up his camp and entered Saxony, ravaging the country with a view to forcing the Elector to desert Gustavus. He meant to seize Weimar and Thuringia, and make another of his impregnable camps with Erfurt for its centre, thence to defy the Swedes and again make them waste their strength and weary out their allies.

Gustavus felt the need of saving Saxony, and preventing the enemy from having time thus to strengthen himself in his intended position. He dashed back from Bavaria by forced marches, uniting with the troops of Saxe Weimar and Brunswick on his way. Here was Gustavus's opportunity. He hurried through the Thuringian forest, and arrived at Erfurt, where his Queen then was. He had little time to spend with her as he had to write letters and despatch orders half the night. His beloved Eleonore kept beside him till he mounted his horse with a last embrace, and "God bless thee," and marched on towards the Saal.

He entered Saxony as a deliverer, meeting everywhere poor wretches flying from the cruelties of the Friedlanders. When he rode into Naumberg, which had momentarily expected to be seized, the people crowded round him in those transports which he always strove to

CAMEO XIX.
—
The March to Lützen. 1632.

repress, as impious in their extravagance. He was out of spirits, and told his chaplain the people were relying on him as on an arm of flesh, and that harm would come of it.

Wallenstein, unable to gain the position he had expected, intrenched himself at Lützen, where, as it was now November, he expected to remain unmolested while the Swedes went into winter quarters. He so little expected an attack that he yielded to the request of Pappenheim, who wished to lead a detachment of the army to make a raid on the secularised bishoprics.

Wallenstein perceived that the King had effected what he had never for a moment expected, and sent courier after courier to recall Pappenheim, Gallas, and all the scattered divisions of his army. On the 5th of November, after a long march, Gustavus asked a Saxon gentleman how far they still were from Lützen, the imperialist centre.

"There, sire, it lies under your eyes."

The castle of Lützen, with the camp spreading from it, did in fact lie before them, looking much nearer than it really was, for between lay eight miles, first of freshly-ploughed fields, all November clay, and beyond, a swamp around a sluggish rivulet, crossed by a little bridge so narrow that only two persons could cross it at once. On the opposite side lay a hamlet held by a regiment of Croats and another of cuirassiers, and the Swedes, who had sunk up to their knees in the mud, amid all the unexpected difficulties of their march, had only time to dislodge these men before dark, taking from them a standard with the Imperial Eagle and the goddess Fortune on one side, and on the other the motto, "*Fortuna et Aquila Romana*," which was esteemed a good omen.

It was plain on each side that if there were to be a battle it would be a desperate one. Kniphausen, one of Gustavus's generals, wanted him to retreat; but he could not have done so without risk of a fearful attack from Wallenstein, and besides, he said he had always longed to unearth the enemy, and see him in the open country. Wallenstein also considered of a retreat during the night, but this would have damaged his fame. His officers thought his position secure, and his astrologer told him the stars of the 6th of November were unfavourable to Gustavus.

A broad road leading to Leipsic lay between the two armies, bordered with willow trees, and with a deep ditch on each side. The Swedes were to the south of this, the Friedlanders to the north—these last upon high ground on which stood several windmills, and beyond them the town of Lützen to the right, or south-west, and on the left or north-east was a deep ditch or mill-stream, called the Floss-graben. The high road wound a little, which caused the lines of the two armies to be drawn up in curves, the Swedes being in a convex form, the Imperialists in a concave one.

It was a dark night and Wallenstein caused the ditches on his side

CAMEO XIX.
The battle of Lützen. 1632.

of the road to be deepened. In the morning he drew up his men in five heavy squares, each consisting of about 5,000 men, equal numbers of pikemen and musqueteers. His cavalry were on the flanks, his artillery, eighty forty-eight pounders, were disposed along the whole front of his line. Having gout about him, he did not ride, but was carried about in a sedan chair.

Gustavus got what rest he could in his carriage, which he shared with Bernhard of Saxe Weimar and General Kniphausen. There was little food to be had, and the soldiers stood to their arms all night. Gustavus had meant to begin his attack two hours before daybreak, so as to have the battle over before Pappenheim could return; but it was so dark, and there was so heavy a fog, that it was impossible to move. At daybreak he changed his dress, wearing no armour, only a cloth coat over a buff waistcoat of elk-leather, and he ordered prayers to be read at the head of all the regiments. Two hymns were sung—

"Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,"

and—

"Verzage nicht, du Hauflein klein;"

the words of which latter are said to have been his own composition. He commanded his Swedes on the right wing, Duke Bernhard the Germans on the left. At eleven o'clock the fog lifted, and the two armies beheld one another. The artillery began to fire, but Wallenstein's was pointed too high, and did little damage, while the Swedes in the centre struggled through the ditches in spite of the musqueteers, Gustavus leading them, pike in hand, and fell upon Wallenstein's squares, breaking them by the sudden attack; but just then the Friedlander cuirassiers came thundering up, and drove the Swedes back across the road, taking a battery with seven cannon.

Gustavus mounted his horse, and put himself at the head of a Swedish regiment which had just lost its commanding officer, and seeing the dark mass of General Piccolomini's cuirassiers, he called out to his friend Colonel Stahlhaus, "Charge me those black fellows soundly, or they will do us a mischief!" then galloped across the road before the men to attack the flank of another cuirassier regiment, shouting aloud as he went, "Now, in God's Name, at them! Jesus! we fight for the honour of Thy holy Name," and threw himself on the enemy. Four persons were close to him, besides some grooms, Hof Marshal Kreilsholm, Chamberlain Truchsess, Duke Francis Albert of Saxe Lunenberg, and a young Nuremberger volunteer, named Löbelfing, of eighteen years old. They were too far in advance of the troopers, who had much difficulty in getting across the ditch. The King and his few followers were mingled with the cuirassiers, and a pistol shot broke Gustavus's arm. He called on his men at first, but becoming faint, he turned his horse's head, saying to the Duke, "*Mon cousin, tirez moi d'ici, car je suis fort blessé.*"

At that moment some horseman cried, "Art thou here? I have

CAMEO XIX.

Death of Gustavus. 1632.

long waited for thee," and shot him through the back. He dropped, and young Löbelfing, springing down, offered his own horse. The King held out both hands, but he was too heavy for the lad to lift, and could not help himsef. The enemy thronged round and demanded who the fallen man was. There was no answer, and one fired a pistol at the King's head. He said, "I am the King of Sweden! My poor Queen! My God! my God!" and "fell asleep." There was a fierce fight over the body; the poor boy received two shots and three stabs, and both were stripped and mangled. Piccolomini, hearing a cry that the King of Sweden was killed, dashed up with ten cuirassiers and tried to carry off the body; but two of the wounded comrades threw themselves over it, and Stahlhaus's troop charged with the greatest fury and drove him back. The sight of Gustavus's horse wounded and galloping masterless, revealed the fatal news to Bernhard, who whispered it to Kniphausen; and, in the hope that the King might be only a prisoner, they fought so furiously as to recover their battery, and break the squares, whilst Nils Brake drove the Imperialists from the windmills. Bernhard presently told Kniphausen that the King was really dead.

"We can make a good retreat," was the answer.

"Revenge, not retreat," said Bernhard, and took the head of the regiment that the King had been leading. It was just in time, for Pappenheim was coming up at last with 6,000 or 7,000 cavalry. He led on their charge with the cry, "Where is the King?" but in the onset he received two balls in the thigh, and was carried away to his carriage, where he soon died. Astrologers remembered that he was born on the same day as was Gustavus, and thus was under the same influences; each was thirty-eight years old. The last order Pappenheim had received from Wallenstein, as well as the King's buff waistcoat, are both in the museum at Vienna. He had been in forty-four battles, and the Order of the Golden Fleece was awaiting him.

For two hours there was a tremendous fight under the fog, which had come down again, each man fighting hand to hand without knowing how the day was going, till, towards sunset, the curtain of mist drew up, and Bernhard, galloping about the field, saw Kniphausen's reserve in perfect order, and unhurt, though Nils Brake and his men were all lying round the windmills in their ranks, straightened out as if in a churchyard—while the enemy's squares were broken, the cuirassiers out of sight. Bernhard rallied the remnant of his first line and, with Kniphausen, once more crossed the road and charged the exhausted enemy. This time they carried all before them, took the cannon, drove back the Imperialists, and after one more sharp struggle, gained the windmills.

Wallenstein had sent Piccolomini and Tertsky out to survey the field. They convinced him that the battle was lost, and he sounded a retreat.

Pappenheim's infantry was just coming up. Had they charged, the

CAMEO XIX.
—
The Stone of the Swede.
1632.

Swedes, after nine hours of terrific fighting, could hardly have withstood fresh men, but darkness was coming on, no one gave them orders, and they halted for the night, only saving Wallenstein's retreat to Leipsic.

The Swedes, heavy-hearted and exhausted, did not know in the darkness and fog how the day had ended, and Bernhard and Kniphausen deliberated whether to retreat to Weissenfels, but they finally determined to remain where they were till morning; and just then a prisoner was brought in, from whom they learnt that Wallenstein was in full retreat to Leipsic. At least they had this knowledge to console them on that terrible night, when the living lay down among the dead, worn out, grief stricken, exhausted and hungry, and a sharp frost killed many of the wounded.

Gustavus's corpse was found, and the poor young volunteer still alive beside him. The lad was carried to Naumburg, where he told his story to some kind friends, and died. The King's body was taken to Naumburg, and eventually to Stockholm. The King's equerry, Jacob Erichson, harnessed ten boors from Menchen to a huge rough boulder and placed it so as to mark the place of the hero's fall, carving on it the letters "G. A., 1632."

Up to the days when another battle of Lützen somewhat effaced the memory of the first, the Saxon peasant never passed without baring his head in reverence to the Stone of the Swede, the great and good man who died in the defence of oppressed Germany.

CAMEO XX.

THE DAY OF DUPES.

(1630—1633.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

The French Court.

THE reign of Louis XIII. in France was neither more nor less than the reign of Armand du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu. The feeble, indolent spirit of the King recognised that no one else could so well conduct his affairs, and though occasional restlessness under the yoke tempted one person after another to endeavour to help him to shake it off, he always fell back on the Cardinal, and left them to be ruined by their attempts. And Richelieu was absolutely ruthless when an enemy to himself or to the Crown was to be overthrown.

One of his chief enemies was the Queen Mother, Marie de Medici. Having introduced him at Court as her almoner, she thought him bound to her service, and viewed all opposition from him as ingratitude. Moreover, she greatly disapproved of the alliance with the German Protestants against the House of Austria, and viewed the extirpation of heresy as her son's prime duty.

Equally discontented was her second son, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, a foolish, weak, and mischievous youth, no wiser than his brother, and with less of what passed for a conscience; but important to the kingdom, since the Queen continued childless, and he alone stood between the succession and the Prince of Condé. Gaston had lost his wife, the heiress of Montpensier, and had only an infant daughter, and his second marriage was the occasion of endless intrigues. After the taking of Rochelle, there was a sharp war in Savoy and Italy, which need not be entered on here; Richelieu moved to the south, taking the Court with him, and watched over the war, changing the generals in command so often and with such harsh strictures on their management, as to excite the greatest dislike in these high-spirited

CAMEO XX.

Intrigue of Marie de Medici. 1630.

soldiers, who could not but resent and chafe against such treatment from an ecclesiastic.

Meantime Louis fell into a state of utter *ennui* and depression, which became deep melancholy, and at Lyons culminated in a very severe illness, during which, for five days, his life was despaired of. His mother and wife nursed him so tenderly and showed him so much affection that his heart was warmed towards them, and he listened to their complaints of the Cardinal's keeping them at a distance from him, and maligning all their actions. Louis, who was jealous of his minister, and had no real affection, listened, and promised them that he would put an end to the war, and dismiss Richelieu on his return to Paris. As soon as he could move the journey was begun, going down the Loire in large barges. There was a game of dissimulation going on all the time, especially between Queen Marie and the Cardinal, who visited her in her boat, knelt by her bed, and showed her great attention, while she received him with apparent complacency and affection, calling him "*Mio caro*," and "*Amico del cor mio.*" She and Anne of Austria had together with Monsieur settled their new ministry, intending Marillac, the Keeper of the Seals, for Prime Minister, brother of him who commanded in Italy, and would support Marie with the army; but Louis declared that the crisis must be deferred for six weeks, in order that the matters in hand might be finished.

Probably the Cardinal knew all perfectly well, though he made no sign. The Queen Mother came to take up her abode at the Luxemburg Palace, which she had just completed, and already ventured to show rudeness to the Cardinal, and his niece, Madame de Combalet, who was one of her ladies. On the morning of the 10th of November she gave orders that when the King came to see her, no one else should be admitted. Louis came, and was quickly followed by the Cardinal, but the door of the Queen's apartments was shut, and there was no answer to any summons. Richelieu, however, knew the place thoroughly, and going round the gallery, and through a little chapel, presented himself in the royal chamber.

"Here he is!" cried the King, like a boy caught in the fact. "*Non faisions!*" faltered the King.

"Confess, Madame!" severely said the Cardinal, with his keen, powerful eyes fixed sternly on her.

"Well, yes!" she passionately broke out, "we were talking of the wickedest and most ungrateful of men," and half in French half in Italian she poured forth a perfect flood of feminine abuse, in the midst of which the King sneaked away, muttering that it was late, and he had to go to Versailles. Richelieu could not get away from the Queen so as to come up with the runaway before the carriage had driven off, and for the moment he thought all was lost, went home, and prepared to start for Havre de Grace, which belonged to him and whence escape would be easy.

The Queen Mother thought her triumph secure. She dismissed all the kinsfolk of Richelieu from her suite, and even every one whom he had recommended, and she held court at the Luxemburg, receiving the congratulations of her party; while Marillac went to his house in the neighbourhood of Versailles to be ready for a summons to the King in the morning. When the King had gone his favourite Saint Simon, who was strongly in the interests of Richelieu, contrived to speak to the Cardinal de la Valette, and tell him to go and advise Richelieu not to relinquish the field, but to be at hand at Versailles, without showing himself.

Louis wandered about the Castle at Versailles, which was still a very small place, grumbling at everything, but especially at his mother's hastiness in bursting out too soon, and at all the trouble that the change would entail on him. He stood at last drumming on the window-panes with his fingers, and saying to Saint Simon—

"What do you think of all this?"

"Sire, I think I am in another world, but you are still master."

"So I am," said the King, "and I will make it felt."

Then Saint Simon told him that the Cardinal was at hand, and Louis, weary of the struggle, answered, "M. le Cardinal was a good master. Give him my compliments, and desire him to come to me immediately."

Martinmas, the 11th of November, 1630, was the next day, and it received the title of the Day of Dupes.

Marillac was awakened by the intelligence that the King had the Cardinal at Versailles, and demanded the seals from him; and at the same time a courier was sent to Foglizzo in Piedmont with these words in the King's own hand:—

"COUSIN,

"Do not fail to arrest Marshal de Marillac. It concerns my service and your character. "LOUIS."

Schomberg opened it, and was greatly amazed as well as embarrassed, for a large portion of the army was much attached to the Marshal. He decided then on showing the note to him whom it concerned.

"Monsieur," said Marillac, "a subject may not so murmur against his master as to say that the things he alleges are false; but I can with truth protest that I have done nothing contrary to his service. The truth is that my brother and I have always been servants of the Queen Mother. She must have failed, and M. le Cardinal de Richelieu have won the day against her and her friends."

He gave up his sword, and was taken from the midst of the army which he commanded to the Castle of Sainte Méné, where he remained during the next year. He was a brave and loyal man, and his brother, Michel, the Keeper of the Seals, a most religious one, who translated Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* into French. But Richelieu hated them both, and believed that while the King was ill at Lyons they

CAMEO XX.

Departure of Gaston. 1631.

had advised Marie de Medici to have him arrested at once in the event of Lôuis's death. Richelieu had triumphed, and he endeavoured to secure himself further by giving the Marshal's staff to the Duke of Montmorency and the Count of Toiras. He also promised promotion to the two chief favourites of Gaston of Orleans, but he hesitated to perform his promise; and this was probably the real reason that the Duke one day burst upon the Cardinal, with a large suite of attendants, to declare that he came to recall all his pledges of protection and affection to Richelieu, as a man who broke promises and was no friend to the Queen his mother. He should go off to the appanage of Orleans and defend himself there. And he immediately got into his carriage and drove off to Orleans.

The Queen Mother must have known his plans, for she had given him back all his late wife's jewels, which had been in her keeping, but she pretended to the King that she had been so much shocked at his departure as to be nearly fainting. The struggle for influence continued between the two Queens and the Cardinal. All the Court went to Compiègne, where Louis was again very ill, and as his death would have placed Gaston on the throne, everything remained in suspense till he began to amend, and then Richelieu let him know of the schemes that had been prepared in case of his death. His jealousy was excited, and he was resolved on their disgrace; but as he could hardly order his mother away, the Cardinal suggested that he had better leave her. So, on the 21st of February, 1631, the King and Cardinal set off for Paris very quietly, so early in the morning that neither his mother nor his wife were awake. When they had had a good start, Marshal d'Estrées was instructed to have Queen Anne wakened, tell her what had happened, and inform her that her husband was waiting at the Capuchin Convent at Senlis for her to join him; but before dressing, Anne hurried to see her mother-in-law, and tell her of the catastrophe.

Presently d'Estrées followed, and told the Queen Mother that the King requested her to await intelligence from him at Compiègne. Marshal Bassompierre and others, enemies of the Cardinal, were sent to the Bastile, and on the following day the King sent a requisition to his mother to take up her residence at Moulins, promising her the government of the province. She fell into one of her furies, and declared she would never leave Compiègne unless they snatched her undressed out of her bed. The Count d'Estrées was therefore left to keep guard over her. Richelieu tried to gain over Monsieur, but not succeeding, caused the King to march with an army towards Orleans. On this Gaston fled, with a hundred horsemen and the Count de Moret, one of his illegitimate half-brothers, and went from place to place till he finally took refuge in Lorraine, where he fell in love with Marguerite, the Duke's sister.

In July, Marie de Medici set forth with a carriage drawn by six horses, but with no more escort than a private gentlewoman. She

CAMEO XX.

Departure of Marie de Medici. 1631.

travelled unmolested to the Low Countries, where she was received by the Count of Crevecœur. She never saw her elder son again, and Richelieu had entirely conquered. He declared that the King would never consent to a marriage between the Duke of Orleans and Marguerite of Lorraine, although the blood of Charlemagne had repeatedly been matched with French royalty; and he likewise assured the lady's brother that the little duchy would suffer if it were made a refuge for all the factious persons in France. The Duke of Lorraine was not powerful enough to resist, but he was deeply offended at the slight to his sister and himself, and though he was forced to obey, Gaston departed, secretly married to Marguerite, when he joined his mother at Brussels. Unfortunately for the romance of the matter, Gaston had none of his father's graces, but was the dullest and weakest of Frenchmen except his brother, and his bride was a quiet, silent, inanimate person, who had, however, the negative merits of neither intriguing nor quarrelling. The Queen and her son were resolved to return, and began a course of intrigues with all who hated the domination of the Cardinal. The Duke of Guise had fled after the Day of Dupes to Italy, where he promised to raise a band of Spanish and Italian soldiers, and to land in his former government of Provence; the Duke of Epernon was to raise Guienne, the Marquis of Cregny, Dauphiné. Even the Duke of Montmorency, hitherto indifferent to Court squabbles, undertook to support the King's mother and brother in Languédoc.

Perhaps the perception of their intrigues drove Richelieu on to one of his worst deeds of revenge for his danger on the Day of Dupes. Marshal Louis de Marillac was sixty years old, and an honourable man, against whom the seizure of all his papers afforded no accusation, yet he had been kept a prisoner at St. Menehould, and a special commission was appointed to inquire into his crimes. No treason could be discovered, and he was therefore accused of misuse of the royal treasure levied from the people, while commanding the army in Champagne. He had, in fact, been commissioned to fortify the citadel of Verdun, and he seems to have been careless in dealing with the sums entrusted to him for provisions, forage, materials, and compensation to the townspeople whose houses were destroyed for the fortification. He was not blameless; but the same accusation could have been brought against every other French general, and he had been less guilty than many. He held such things mere trifles. "Hay and straw, wood and lime," said he, "there is not matter here for whipping a servant!"

In fact, death was not the penalty, and besides, Marillac, both by birth and office, came under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris; but Richelieu chose subservient members from those of Dijon and Metz, and sent them to try him at Verdun. Twice the Paris Parliament demanded to have the cause brought thither, but no attention was paid to it, and finally Richelieu transferred the Court to his own castle at Ruel.

CAMEO XX.

Execution of Marillac. 1632.

Even there, it was only by a majority of one that Louis de Marillac was condemned to be beheaded, and the iniquitous sentence was carried out the next day, the 9th of May, 1632. The ex-Keeper of the Seals died in prison two months later.

On the news of the execution, Gaston of Orleans instantly hastened to the Spanish army in the Low Countries, and there borrowed about 2,000 men, the refuse of the camp it was said, with whom he arrived at Nancy, and then proceeded into Burgundy, being before the time agreed on, and before Guise or any of the other allies could possibly be in the field. Richelieu was troubled about his doings, but immediately declared war against Lorraine, and, sending Marshal d'Effiat into the duchy, quickly reduced the Duke to entire submission, and prevented him from joining the Emperor.

Meantime Gaston rapidly traversed Burgundy with his 2,000 Spaniards. Nobody joined him, but nobody chose to lift a hand against the heir presumptive, and thus he reached Languédoc. The Governor of this province was Henri, Duke of Montmorency, fifth in descent from the Great Constable Anne. He was godson to Henri IV., who had said of him to M. de Villeroi: "Look at my son Montmorency, what a fine figure he is! If the House of Bourbon were to fail, no family in Europe would deserve the crown of France so well as that whose great men have supported and added to it at the cost of their own blood."

In fact, no French noble equalled Montmorency in grace, beauty, and valour. He was thirty-seven years of age, honourable, open-hearted, and open-handed, and beloved by all, as was also his beautiful and excellent wife, Maria Felicia, of the great Orsini family at Rome. He had not meddled with party or intrigue, and seemed little concerned with politics, except that during the King's illness at Lyon he had offered to support Richelieu against his enemies. He had been made a Marshal, and was thought to expect the office of Constable of France, which had been four times in his family.

But it was to the surprise of every one that when the Bishop of Alby had made overtures to him on the part of the Queen Mother and Gaston, he accepted them and cast in his lot with Monsieur, who was invading his native land with foreign troops. Some said that he did so as thoughtlessly as if he had been asked to be the Duke's second in a duel; but it is more likely that he was shocked at the judicial murder of Marillac, and the exile of the King's mother and brother at the bidding of a tyrannical ecclesiastic. Moreover the family instincts of the Montmorencys had always made them stand between the Huguenots and the King, adverse to Calvinism, but resisting the encroachments of royalty. The Duke had recently been supporting the remonstrances of Languédoc against the heavy imposts laid upon it when it had by no means recovered from the devastations of the Huguenot war.

He must have felt at once that Gaston's precipitation rendered the

CAMEO XX.

Rebellion of Montmorency. 1633.

cause hopeless, but he was a man of his word; so he sent out summonses to the people of Languédoc to rise in arms, and he met the Duke of Orleans at Sunel. He had expected the Huguenots to follow him, but for the most part they refrained, and the Parliament of Toulouse forbade any attention to be paid to his commissions.

At Paris Richelieu had put seals on the property in Montmorency's house, where he found a considerable sum of money. The Parliament likewise registered a strong declaration against the adherents of the Duke of Orleans as rebels, traitors, and disturbers of the public peace. Six weeks were granted to Gaston in which to submit, otherwise "the King would have to deal with him as might be for the welfare of his kingdom." Thereupon King and Cardinal started together for the south.

The rebel army amounted to 13,000 men, but there was nothing but strife among the leaders when they advanced together against the division of the royal army which was besieging the castle of St. Felix, which held out for the King. These troops were under Marshal Schomberg, and numbered 7,000. Montmorency reconnoitred with 500 men, drove in the outposts, and came back in high spirits. "Ah! Monsieur," he said to Gaston, "this is the day when you will be victorious over all your enemies, and son and mother will be brought together again."

"Oh!" returned the Prince, "Monsieur de Montmorency, you are always rhodomontading. You promise me great victories, and still I have nothing but hopes. For my part, I wish you to know that I can always make peace for myself, and get out of it '*moi troisième.*'"

On this ungracious and ungrateful answer, Montmorency retired into a corner of the hall, where were the Counts of Moret and Rieux, and spoke sharp and contemptuous words of the cowardly Prince for whom they were ruining themselves.

The cavalry advanced, but orders were given that no attack should be made until all the infantry had come up, and another council of war had been held. But when at Castelnaudry Moret on the left beheld the royal troops, a sort of madness seemed to seize him and his people. They dashed forward without looking behind them, firing their pistols. At the sound, Montmorency, who was on the right, with the horsemen with him, galloped to the scene of action, leaping the ditches, riding over the musqueteers, shouting for his troops who did not move. Moret was already killed, Rieux was shot down, Montmorency was alone in the midst of the royal light cavalry. His horse went down under him. He was dragged out, unhappily alive, with seventeen wounds, two in his face.

Far behind Gaston stood whistling, as he always did when disturbed, and not even issuing a single order to go to the defence of these brave and reckless men, only saying "All is lost." As he saw the gentlemen of Languédoc, who had only risen out of personal affection for Mont-

CAMEO XX.

Captivity of Montmorency. 1633.

morency, riding off at full speed, Schomberg might easily have charged and made him prisoner with all his suite, but the Marshal was much too prudent to meddle with one who might any day be his king, and his retreat to Beziers was unmolested.

The Duchess of Montmorency lay sick there. She instantly sent off a surgeon and an equerry to Castelnaudry to bring tidings of her husband. None of his wounds were mortal, and he was calm and resolute. "Tell my wife," he said, "the size and number of my wounds, and assure her that none is so painful as that which I have inflicted on her spirit."

Monsieur, moved by some spirit of shame, sent in the morning to offer battle to Schomberg. The Marshal replied that he did not accept the challenge, but that if they met he should try to defend himself. But Monsieur had hardly any troops left, and retreated towards Beziers. Poor Madame de Montmorency, ill as she was, caused herself to be carried in a litter to his camp, that she might prevent him from forgetting to make terms for her husband.

The King was at Lyons by this time, and messengers passed between the brothers. Gaston at first demanded Montmorency's liberty, and the reinstatement of all his friends and his mother's, but no answer was made to this, and his second envoy was imprisoned. Then, when he was alarmed enough, the Sieur de Bullion was sent to meet him at Beziers, and found him ready to renounce all connection with the enemies of the King or Cardinal so that he might be taken into favour again. As to his marriage, which without the King's consent was treason, he flatly denied it. He did indeed entreat for the prisoner, but M. de Bullion said, "Your Highness must decide between the King and the Sieur de Montmorency," and Gaston ceased to plead, signed everything, left the Duke to his fate, and set off for Tours, which had been appointed as his place of exile.

Sympathy and pity for Montmorency abounded. He knew his doom, and was ready to meet it bravely. As soon as he could be moved, he was to be taken to Toulouse for his trial, the King and Cardinal themselves coming to ensure severity. By letters patent the cause was removed from the Parliament of Paris, which alone had jurisdiction over a *pair de France*, but he made no objection. "I renounce the privilege with all my heart," he said, "as well as all others that can delay my sentence."

His sister, the beautiful Princess of Condé, brought a memorial she had prepared for the King. He read it quietly, praised the wording, and tore it up. The King shut his doors against the sister and the wife, but there were many others to plead. The old Duke of Epernon threw himself at the King's feet in tears, and almost every noble and lady at court entreated for the gallant Duke. Even Richelieu spoke of making him a hostage for the Duke of Orleans, and the churches were full of people praying for him. But Louis XIII. was cruel at heart, and listened to no one, treating all supplications with cold dis-

CAMEO XX.

Death of Montmorency. 1633.

pleasure. "You may retire, M. le Duc," was all the answer vouchsafed to Epernon.

It was not till the 26th of October that the prisoner could be brought to Toulouse. He begged at once for a confessor. "Father," he said to the priest, "I entreat you to set me at once on the shortest and surest way to heaven. I have no more hope nor wish save in God."

On the 30th, when he was fast asleep his confessor awoke him: "*Surgite eamus*," he said, quoting the words with which our Blessed Lord left the upper room. His surgeon came to dress his still unhealed wounds. "All my hurts will be cured by a single blow," he said, as he caused himself to be dressed in the white cloth garments he had had prepared.

He was led before the Parliament, where he confessed his guilt as a rebel, and expressed deep repentance, answering fully all the questions put to him. He then retired while sentence of death, forfeiture of peerage, and confiscation of property was pronounced on him and notified to him by commissioners. "I thank you, gentlemen," he replied, "and I beg you to tell all your body that I hold this decree of the King's justice as a decree of God's mercy."

The execution took place immediately. Montmorency walked calmly to the scaffold, bowing with his usual stately courtesy to his acquaintance, and kneeling down with some difficulty on account of his wounds, he said in Latin, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit," and thus received the stroke.

He had no children, which softened the force of the attainder, nor was the confiscation carried out, but his widow was allowed to live on at Chantilly, and was viewed as an angel of goodness, and his estates ultimately passed to his sister Charlotte, the Princess of Condé.

"Do you know, gentlemen, who cut off Montmorency's head?" said Cardinal Zapta to the two French envoys at Madrid.

"His crimes," they answered.

"No," said the Cardinal, "the clemency of the predecessors of Louis XIII."

By which he must have meant that the leaders in a political war against the Crown had hitherto been spared. Gaston was terrified at the execution; as he had denied his marriage, he had never been pardoned for it, and since nothing could be easier than to prove it, he could be found guilty in his turn of treason, and he therefore hurried off to Flanders again, leaving Richelieu supreme so long as the valetudinarian King should survive. Indeed Richelieu himself was suffering constantly from an incurable complaint, although his indomitable will continued to direct the whole kingdom.

Probably Montmorency perished not so much for his rebellion, as because Richelieu ruled on the old tyrant's principle of cutting down the tallest poppies—that on which Louis XI. had ruled France, and

CAMEO XX.
The Anti-Reformation.

Henry VIII. had advised François to cut off Bourbon's head simply because he was over-powerful for a subject. Richelieu, as it has been said, was putting down hundreds of petty tyrannies to make one great one. The nobles of France had lost much power during the wars of Religion, and a hard strong hand kept them down. Meantime, the King left everything to the minister, and amused his weary hours as best he could. He had set up a friendship with Marie de Hautefort, a perfectly innocent one, which began when she was only fourteen, and the King, seeing her looking tired at a sermon, sent her his own velvet cushion, which she would not accept. They had interminable conversations, sometimes quarrels, and then the King spent his time in writing out all that had passed till their reconciliation. Marie was a good and upright woman, beloved by the Queen as well as the King, and not a breath of scandal ever touched her fair fame, nor would she surrender herself to be merely an instrument of Richelieu's influence, but preserved her independence. The King was, according to his own ideas, and those of the time a religious man, and the Cardinal had a great man's views of the duties of the Church. It was a time, too, when the revival of religion in the Roman Church, which is known as the anti-reformation, was in full force, and was bearing fruit of a noble kind. Vincent de Paul, born in 1576, was bred up as a peasant priest in Gascony, and was then beginning his great works. He had been in his youth made prisoner by the Barbary pirates, and sold as a slave. While working in the garden, the Psalms he sung gained the attention of his mistress, and then of her husband, a renegade. Vincent brought him back to the faith, and they fled back to France together.

After serving as a village priest, Vincent was recommended by Cardinal de Berulle as tutor to the sons of the Count de Joigny, of the Gondi family, who had been brought to France by Catherine de Medici, and among the cadets of whose house the Archbishopric of Paris was almost hereditary. The head of the family was "*Général des Galères*," thus having the disposal of all the hosts of convicts who were employed in the dockyards and vessels of France to supply the moving force now given by steam. Many of those were no criminals, but Huguenot ministers, or persons involved in political offences. Vincent, going with the Count to visit a dockyard, conversed with some of these, and, on hearing the history of one, actually assumed his place, changing clothes with him, putting on his chain, and quietly doing his work, till the family discovered the absence of their tutor, and released him.

The Gondis were good people, and Vincent stirred them to higher views of duty and charity. He found that the poor were terribly neglected, both bodily and spiritually, and he was the first deviser, under stress of circumstances, of most valuable and enduring institutions. The necessity for the want of care of the sick and of orphans he found in the institution of a band of women, taken from all ranks, vowed for

CAMEO XX.
St. Vincent de Paul.

five years at a time to all that was required of nuns except the being cloistered. These Sœurs de Charité, or as the original order is now called, Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, began with three poor girls at Châtillon en Bresse, and spread into thirty country places, before they were, through the agency of a rich and excellent widow, Madame Legras, brought to Paris, where the need was terrible.

Louis XIII. took great interest in these Sisters. It is said that their peculiar cap was his device. He was having an interview with some of the Sisters and hearing their plans, when, pointing to one who was remarkably pretty, he said, "But you can never go about like that. You should wear this." And twisting up his napkin into a hood, he threw it at her, and thus originated the head-dress under which so many kind faces have looked on suffering ever since.

The Archbishop of Paris—a Gondi—likewise sanctioned the foundation of a college of priests, whence parties might be sent out to hold missions and stir up people and clergy to greater devotion. It seems that it was a common custom to have whole companies of boys and girls together, and dictate their confession in the most formal way before their first Communion. Instruction was a mere form, the priests were often almost as ignorant as the peasants, and there was less opportunity than heretofore of clerical training, since many monasteries had dwindled to nothing, and were mere empty houses with lands which served to give title and income to many an idle abbé about Court. There were, of course, few of the monastic schools that once abounded, and special clerical training was almost unknown, until in 1631 Vincent succeeded in the foundation of the College de Bons Enfans, at Paris, where a band of clergy lived, and gave instruction to ordination candidates on the duties of their office. Afterwards an old hospital for lepers, called the Priory de St. Lazare, was given for this purpose, and became a centre of spiritual blessing to France. Thence clergy were despatched at the request of bishops or priests to hold missions in places where the need was felt; thither priests might resort for retreats, and for special instruction; and every Tuesday conferences were held for the special purpose of enhancing the spirituality and the godliness of the priesthood: and thence there went out every year a great number of young men, freshly ordained, with far higher and stricter ideas of their office than ever before. Other seminaries sprang up in the provinces, and there is no doubt that the French clerical order thus became almost regenerated and with lasting effect. It was true that there continued to be a noxious race of clergy who took Church preferment as an appanage of their rank or the reward of services to the Crown, political or otherwise; but the lower working priesthood was in general devout and excellent, and so continued amid many trials, and among the higher clergy there were a large number of devout and devoted persons. The doors of St. Lazare were further opened to retreats and instruction for laymen

CAMEO XX.
Charities at Paris.

as well as clergy, and about eight hundred a year came and were aided to fulfil the duties of their several stations as the true servants of God. There really was an appreciable effect upon society, and although terrible scandals existed, especially among the higher nobility, yet many excellent and conscientious persons were thus trained in holiness.

To the professed Sisters of Charity was added an outer association of Dames de Charité, ladies who, living in their homes and in society, worked in combination with the Sœurs in the care of the poor. Their special business was to attend on the sick in the great hospital of the Hotel Dieu, going in rotation to attend—some to their necessities, some to their religious instruction. Many of these Dames de Charité were of the highest rank, Richelieu's favourite niece, Madame de Combalet, being among them. The revival was felt everywhere. It has been mentioned how Mère Angelique, daughter of the great lawyer Antoine Arnauld, had reformed her convent. It was so populous that the house of Port Royal aux Champs thus became perilously crowded, and being in a low, marshy place, illnesses and deaths became so frequent that, through the influence of the Arnauld family, the convent was transferred to a house in the Faubourg St. Jacques, thenceforth known as Port Royal de Paris. It was the place of retreat and edification of one half of the religiously-minded ladies of Paris, as the Convents of the Visitation were of the other half. Perhaps, as became the Cistercian discipline, the Port Royal tone was the more severe. We are told that Mère Angelique objected to a highly decorated ritual as both distracting and irreverent. There was a diamond cross over the high altar, and Mère Angelique found a lady letting her child stand on the altar itself to admire it. She had it sold for the benefit of the poor, and supplied its place with a plain one. Stern asceticism was the spirit of the convent; and when St. François de Sales told her that he thought her rule of life too strict, she replied that she believed so too, and would not have drawn it up for herself, but that, being pledged thereto, she could only carry it out to the best of her ability. There was, as yet, no special theological bias connected with Port Royal, and its vigorous piety and severe obedience were only the outcome of the general stirring of the Church.

CAMEO XXI.

THE DUKE OF FRIEDLAND.

(1632—1634.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXI.

Death of Gustavus. 1632.

As it had been with Alexander and with Henry V., when Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden fell by his own rash valour on the field of Lützen, the ring of monarchy lay on a well-nigh empty throne. His little daughter, Christina, who was one day to astonish Europe with her vagaries, was not yet seven years old. The Chancellor Oxenstjerna immediately made it known that the same policy was to be observed by Sweden, nor was there any doubt that the victory at Lützen had been complete so far as that the enemy were turned back from Thuringia.

Yet the loss of Gustavus was in itself equivalent to a defeat. Wallenstein called it a victory, and sent the king's elk-skin coat and gold chain to Vienna, where it is said that Ferdinand shed tears at the sight, as he thought of the gallant prince, cut off in his prime, and, according to the narrowest Romanist views, doomed to perdition. A *Te Deum* was, however, sung at Vienna, and at Madrid there were twelve days of rejoicings, and such an expenditure of wood in bonfires that fuel became so scarce as to call for the interference of the alguazils to check the waste, and an English gentleman had to keep up his fire with the carved and gilt remnants of old coaches, which he bought from the carriage builder who broke them up.

Elizabeth of Bohemia seems to have felt for a little while as if her friendship was as fatal as that of her grandmother; but rallying her spirits she wrote to beg her brother to continue the subsidy paid (or promised) to Gustavus, to her husband, and to use his influence to get Frederick set at the head of the Protestant armies. Charles gratified her by making the proposal to put forward that very incapable person,

CAMEO XXI.

Death of Frederick. 1632.

who was, moreover, such a Calvinist as to be sure to fall out with the Lutherans. But already Frederick was lying sick unto death at Mentz. He had left Gustavus shortly after the dispute as to the toleration of Lutheranism, he had surveyed part of his ruined domains, and had since visited the Duke of Zweibrucken, in whose lands the plague was raging. Feeling unwell, he returned to Mentz, and there met the news of the death of the King of Sweden. In his despondency he fretted over the stipulations for free worship for the Lutherans, his fever increased, symptoms of the plague showed themselves, and he died on the 23rd of November, 1632, leaving ten surviving of his thirteen children, the eldest living son, Charles Louis, aged fourteen, the youngest, called after the great Gustavus, an infant. Elizabeth, whose tender affection for him had been most warmly returned, was utterly stricken down. She hardly spoke or moved for three days, she long suffered from an intermitting fever, and she never put off the deepest mourning. King Charles wished her to bring her whole family to England, and actually selected ships to bring them over, but she thought she could better look after her son's interests at the Hague. Charles also wished to send Sir Henry Vane to Vienna to request that the young Prince might receive investiture of the County Palatine of the Rhine; but Elizabeth's spirit was too high for this. She said her son's inheritance had been won back by the sword, and she would not have it committed to negotiation. The administration of it was committed to the boy's other uncle, Louis, Duke of Simmeren.

Wallenstein punished his troops for their defeat by hanging seventeen colonels for cowardice, and fastening the names of fifty more officers to the gallows. "Good people," said one of the victims, "here I am about to die for having run away in company with my generalissimo." The Duke likewise deprived his troopers of their carbines, saying that they only fired them and galloped away.

These executions took place at Leipsic, and then he marched off to Bohemia, and spent the winter in recruiting his army, and likewise in an attempt to break up the Protestant League. Bernhard of Saxe Weimar was known to be proposing to make a duchy of Franconia for himself, out of the Bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, and this was likely to awaken the jealousy of the Elector of Saxony, always half hearted.

Wallenstein proposed to do away with the Edict of Restitution, to restore part of the Palatinate to young Charles Louis, and to buy off the Swedes by the cession of a few places on the Baltic; but Ferdinand, under the influence of his confessor, Father Lamormati, considered it his duty to yield nothing to the heretics. The Protestant princes therefore met at Heilbronn in April, 1633, and signed a League, drawn up chiefly by Oxenstjerna, by which the circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine, united with Sweden, while the friendship of Denmark was secured by the hopes of the hand of the little orphaned Queen for the Crown Prince.

CAMEO XXI.

Renewal of the war. 1632.

Wallenstein made some attempts at negotiation with Oxenstjerna, offering to bring about some terms of peace, whether the Emperor liked it or not, but Oxenstjerna had not the slightest trust in him, and cautiously replied that if the Duke of Friedland meant to make a league against the Emperor he had better be the first to begin the attack.

So the war began again, Wallenstein harrying Silesia and threatening Dresden, while Bernhard secured the city of Ratisbon and threatened the borders of Austria. Bernhard was an able general, and a good and devout man, who is said to have known the Bible by heart from end to end. He was honourable and chivalrous, but he had not the control over his soldiers that Gustavus had possessed, and the discipline which that king himself had had the utmost difficulty in maintaining, utterly failed. The soldiers plundered right and left, and the miseries of the country folk were appalling. Whole villages were deserted, the inhabitants took to the woods and hills, and led a robber life, or the more civilised repaired to the towns. At the village of Aspach there was an old tower whither the inhabitants sometimes fled, and in the adjoining forest there was a large field full of hornbeam trees, and surrounded with a huge fence of thorns, with no entrance save by a passage through which it was necessary to creep on hands and knees. This often became their refuge when the village was occupied by soldiers, and, though long since turned into a cabbage garden, the spot is still called Schützdorn, "Thorn Refuge." The pastors for the most part behaved nobly and faithfully, holding by their flocks through terrible perils and sufferings. Sometimes they had to work as common labourers, digging, or cutting wood. At Stelnen, near the source of the Itz, the village was burnt down, nothing left standing but the church, school, and one shepherd's hut, and the poor pastor wrote to the consistory dating "from my castle of misery," "I have saved nothing but my eight poor, little, naked, hungry children." He was removed, but his successor was pillaged and wounded, and for fifteen years the place was without a pastor. The village people in such cases grew wicked and savage, and robbed one another without scruple, lawlessness prevailed everywhere, and Germany had fallen back in civilisation a full century. And the end was not yet.

Wallenstein, hard and severe man as he was, had become heartily sick of the war, and of working for the Emperor. So far as his designs can be understood, Wallenstein knew that victory over the opposing force was uncertain, and that defeat was ruin. He was no fervent Roman Catholic, and he did not want to see everything trodden down before the exclusive and narrow despotism of Ferdinand I. and his Jesuits. He believed that there was too much power of resistance on the other side for this to be possible, and his view was, therefore, to give up Mecklenburg and reinstate its Duke, and to take for himself the Palatinate, making himself a potentate who might

CAMEO XXI.

Distrust of Wallenstein. 1633.

keep the peace between the Protestant North and the Catholic South.

But this proposal greatly offended the Spaniards, who did not want him for a neighbour to the Low Countries; and the Emperor and the Jesuits were still resolved on no peace nor toleration for heresy. Everybody at Vienna was murmuring against Wallenstein, and the Bavarians had always hated him and were angered at his not having done more to succour Ratisbon, but he had absolute hold over the army, and was resolved to force a peace upon the Empire, as he had written to Oxenstjerna, whether the Emperor liked it or not. Therewith he obtained, in the January of 1633, assurances from his three principal generals, Piccolomini, Gallas, and Aldringen, an assurance that they would cleave to him, under all circumstances. He seems to have then intended, and they likewise, only to oblige the Emperor to grant reasonable terms by finding that the army would not support him in carrying on war to the bitter end, even had there been any chance of absolutely overcoming the German Princes. "Ten victories would do the Emperor no good," said Wallenstein, "one defeat would be his ruin."

At Vienna, however, things were not seen in this light, and the report of this compact naturally excited suspicion that treason was intended. It was further reported that Wallenstein was surrounded by Bohemian exiles who intreated him to assume the crown of his native country, where he would have tolerated those Hussites whom Ferdinand was bent on extinguishing, and moreover that France had consented to such an arrangement.

Wallenstein was on specially bad terms with the Spanish Court. The Infanta Maria Althea, the object of the unsuccessful courtship of Charles I., had married Ferdinand's eldest son, now called King of Hungary. Her brother, the Infant Fernando, a cardinal, had been appointed Governor of the Netherlands, and was waiting in Italy, with an army, to march across the Austrian dominions to Brussels; but Wallenstein, apparently expecting that these Spanish troops were to be used to lessen his predominance, had used his power, as head of the military affairs of the Emperor, to refuse him passage for his troops. All this strongly excited the animosity of the Spanish Ambassador, Count Oñate, who tried to rouse the Emperor to the perception that his confidence in Wallenstein was misplaced. A fresh negotiation was entered into by that general with the Elector of Saxony, and the terms sent to the Emperor for his approval, but no answer was returned. Ferdinand was sleepless with perplexity between trusting his great Captain or trusting Spain, and at last he decided on trying to reduce the great army which lay quartered around Wallenstein's abode at Pilsen, sending orders that one division should be sent to Passau, 6000 more to the Low Countries, and that the remainder, under the Duke of Friedland himself, should endeavour to retake Ratisbon.

CAMEO XXI.

League with Wallenstein. 1634.

Wallenstein perceived that these orders were intended as the first step towards his overthrow. He therefore collected his principal generals and officers together, and told them that his enemies were persuading the Emperor to ruin and dismiss him after his thirty years of service. He should, he said, resign the command before his dismissal arrived, and he was only sorry for his soldiers, who would be driven from the comfortable winter quarters he had provided, to suffer hardships and be divided, instead of receiving from him the rewards of their valour which he had promised, and hoped to have been able to bestow in the next campaign. The speech excited much agitation among the officers and soldiers, and Count Tertsky, Wallenstein's brother-in-law, profited by it to obtain the signatures of Field Marshal Illo, four generals, and fifty colonels of regiments to a petition intreating the Duke of Mecklenburg and Friedland not to abandon his army, and absolutely binding themselves to "remain true and faithful to him, and shed the last drop of their blood in his service." This was on the 12th of February, 1634.

The two superior generals, Gallas and Aldringen, having perceived that Wallenstein was likely to go much farther than they had supposed, avoided appearing at Pilsen, and gave the Emperor assurances of their loyalty. Ottavio Piccolomini is said to have been on the scene of action, but it remains uncertain whether he signed the petition. At any rate, he hurried to Vienna, where he arrived in the middle of the night, caused the Emperor to be awakened, and gave a most alarming and exaggerated account of the situation, representing the whole army as in a state of incipient rebellion, and the troops within and around Vienna as only waiting the word from the Duke of Friedland to fall upon the Imperial family.

The Emperor did not perhaps believe the whole of this, but he called Oñate to his councils, and drew up papers releasing the troops from all obligations to Wallenstein, and provisionally appointing Gallas to the chief command. Piccolomini and Aldringen were sent to secure Wallenstein's person, and bring him to Vienna to answer the accusations against him: but Oñate predicted that they would not be able to do this, and that it would be easier to kill the commander than to carry him off as a prisoner.

They found that, as before, the army stood by him, and on the 20th of February another agreement was signed by the colonels promising to stand by him. Meantime he renewed his negotiations with Oxenstjerna and Bernhard; proposing, as he was already sure of the Elector of Saxony, that all should coalesce to force the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria into a peace, for want of armies to go on fighting with. He appointed his troops to meet on the White Hill of Prague to hear his intentions.

But in the meantime Oñate had supplied the Emperor with money to pay up arrears and buy the officers over. More and more of them declared for the Emperor, and the garrison of Prague refused to admit

CAMEO XXI.

Plot against Wallenstein. 1634.

Wallenstein or his adherents. He was much disappointed. "I had peace in my hands!" he said, "God is righteous!" He then endeavoured to appoint a conference at Egra, and sent off to Bernhard, Oxenstjerna, and Arnheim to meet him there. His messenger to Bernhard was ill-omened. It was that Franz of Saxe Lauenberg who had come unscathed from beside Gustavus at Lützen, and was by some suspected of having fired the fatal shot. Bernhard moved towards Egra, the cooler Swede would do nothing till Wallenstein should have openly declared against the Emperor.

On the 24th of February, Wallenstein arrived at Egra, with Tertsky's regiment, and a troop of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Walter Butler, an Irish Roman Catholic, one of the many soldiers of fortune who hired out their swords, now to one party, now to another. He had been in the service of Sweden, but preferred that of the Emperor as that of his Church. Wallenstein had full confidence in him, little guessing that Piccolomini had agreed with him that he was to bring the Commander-in-chief dead or alive. The Governor of Egra was a Scotchman named Gordon, his second in command also a Scot, by name Leslie. Both had been favoured by Wallenstein, but they held themselves directly bound to the Emperor, and that all attempts against him were contrary to their honour as soldiers. Such fidelity for the time being was the one thing for which such men cared, as Scott has well shown in his "Dugald Dalgetty," who would hire his sword out without regard to the justice of the cause for which he fought, but was faithful even to the death during the period for which he had covenanted. On the morning of the 25th of February an officer came to direct these gentlemen to accept no orders save from the Duke of Friedland. There was a silence. Then Gordon spoke:—

"I have sworn to obey the Emperor, and who shall release me from my oath?"

"You are strangers to the Empire, gentlemen," was the emissary's reply. "What have you to do with the Emperor?"

He could extract no promise, and the two Scotsmen held a consultation with Colonel Butler. *Leslie*, a grave, silent man, was the first to speak. "Let us kill the traitor," he said. The other two consented, and Butler was able to provide a sufficient number of his countrymen, of whom Captain Devereux and two other officers named Burke and Geraldine were the most prominent. The next day, February the 26th, Butler invited to supper in the castle the Duke's closest adherents, Count Tertsky, Generals Illo and Kinsky, and Neumann, the private secretary. Geraldine and Devereux, with fourteen determined dragoons, were posted in rooms opening into the banquet chamber, Burke and another party patrolled the streets to prevent interference.

Unsuspicious of evil, the guests began drinking the health of their chief, not as the servant of the Emperor, but as an independent Prince; and as the wine more and more overcame their discretion, Illo boasted

CAMEO XXI.

Attack on Wallenstein. 1634.

that in a few days Wallenstein would be at the head of an army such as he had never led before.

"Yes," said Neumann, "and then he hopes to wash his hands in the blood of the Austrian."

While this passed, dessert had been brought in, the servants had retired, and Leslie gave the concerted signal for the raising of the drawbridge, while he locked the outer door of the hall, and put the key in his pocket.

The hall was filled with armed men, who planted themselves behind the chairs of the guests with a shout of "*Vivat Ferdinandus!*" All four started up: Kinsky was cut down before he could reach his sword; Tertsky killed three of his assailants before he fell; Illo reached the embrasure of a window, whence he bitterly upbraided Gordon and Butler for their ingratitude and treachery, and challenged them to an honourable combat. He was overpowered by numbers, but he had killed two men before he fell under ten wounds. Neumann, who knew the house, reached a staircase, but was there cut down.

Then Leslie went out into the town telling the sentinels that there had been treason. He quieted the alarms of the watch, and took possession of the keys of the gates, while a large body of Butler's dragoons patrolled the streets to keep Wallenstein's partisans in check. Meantime, the others, among the corpses of the slain, debated whether to kill Wallenstein, or only make him prisoner, recoiling from taking the life of a man whom they had followed in battle. They recollected, however, the boasts that Swedish and Saxon armies were marching on Egra, and resolved to remain firm to their first decision. Devereux seized a halbert, exclaiming, "I will have the honour of putting Wallenstein to death," and put himself at the head of thirty fresh soldiers to hurry to Wallenstein's apartments at a far distant part of the castle, whither no warning sounds had penetrated.

Wallenstein had been consulting with his Italian astrologer, Seni, who had some days before warned him of the hostile aspect of the heavens. "The danger is not yet passed," said the astrologer.

"It is so," said Wallenstein, as though he would bend the stars to his will, "but that thou, friend Seni, wilt be thrown into a dungeon, is plainly written in the heavens."

Wallenstein had dismissed the astrologer, and gone to bed, when Gordon came to the door of his lodging with Devereux and the soldiers. The sentinel, knowing the Governor, made no difficulty as to admitting them; but in the porch one of the muskets went off by accident, and the fear of discovery quickened the speed of the party who entered, Devereux and six halberdiers. A page met them on the stairs, and was about to give the alarm, but was silenced by a thrust from a pike. In the ante-room they encountered a chamberlain, who came out of the bedchamber, locking the door behind him, with his finger on his lips,

CAMÉO XXI.

Murder of Wallenstein. 1634.

telling them to make no alarm, for the Duke was asleep. "Friend," said Devereux, "it is a time for alarms," and dashing against the door, he broke it open with his foot.

The noise had awakened Wallenstein, who had sprung out of bed, and opened a window to call for help; but he only heard the cries of the Countesses Kinsky and Illo, who had just learned the fate of their husbands. There, in his shirt, with only the table between him and the assassins, he gave a cry of reproach, which Devereux retorted with, "Scoundrel, who would lead the Emperor's men over to the enemy. Thou must die."

Wallenstein uttered no word more; he spread out his arms as if to receive the pikes that pierced his breast, and fell in his blood.

The soldiery had taken the alarm, and were rushing to avenge his death; but Gordon harangued them, painting the intended treason in the blackest colours, and inducing them to cry "*Vivat Ferdinandus!*" Butler and Devereux started for Vienna with the tidings, and the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, returning from his mission, was arrested. Schiller has made the fate of Wallenstein doubly memorable by one of the finest historical dramas in existence; but its chief beauty, the characters of Max Piccolomini and Thekla of Wallenstein; Max's struggles between loyalty and hero worship, and Thekla's devoted and despairing love, are wholly imaginary. Some doubt whether Wallenstein was veritably a great man, or had any really able and beneficial designs. He never won a pitched battle, and he seems to have often wavered, and to have been guided by circumstances, or by the stars, in which he had more faith than in anything else. His reputation may have depended more on his strange, mysterious demeanour, and on his great command of money, than on absolute ability. At any rate, with him and with Gustavus Adolphus, ended all the striking interest of the Thirty Years' War, although, alas, years of misery were yet to come.

A few more of the leader's chief partisans were beheaded. Gordon was rewarded with Tertsky's estates, and those of Wallenstein were divided between Gallas, Aldringen, Piccolomini, and Leslie, while a circumstantial account of his treasures was drawn up at Vienna, and published, and the young King of Hungary was made Generalissimo.

CAMEO XXII.

THE THIRD PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

(1629—1637.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXII.

The Court party and the Country party. 1629.

THE death of George Villiers did indeed remove the object of the nation's hatred, but it could not but leave a strong feeling on the part of King Charles, that the persecution begun in Parliament had been the real cause of the murder of the man he best loved; and that the Commons never met without attacking the Church and Crown, and hindering him from fulfilling his engagements to foreign powers, and thus bringing their nation into contempt. It was their wrangling that had left, first his sister and then the Rochellois, unaided, and yet they talked of their devotion to the Protestant cause.

On their side, the leading party held that they had every reason to believe that their grants of treasure would be squandered and misapplied, and that they were bound to avail themselves of the opportunity of asserting their rights, and obtaining security against exaction. Also they were bent on putting down the Catholic spirit, which they viewed as Arminianism and Popery.

They had, however, lost two allies, Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Saville. They seem to have felt that the resistance was becoming disloyalty, and to have been disgusted by the virulence of "the country party" as it was called. They had been reconciled with the Court, and each had received a peerage. The cry was that they had been bought over, more especially as Viscount Wentworth shortly became Lord President of the North; but his character throughout contradicts this theory, and makes it plain, that though he was ready to stand up to the uttermost for the lawful rights of Englishmen, he did not choose to see the Crown deprived of what he held as its privileges. Always a thorough Churchman, he was also the staunchest supporter of Charles against the aggressions of the Commons. For aggressions they

CAMEO XXII.
Tonnage and Poundage. 1629.

certainly might be called, in the sense that there was only the faintest precedent for any such claims, and the rights adduced were rather those of manhood, intelligence and education, than any that could be proved to have belonged to the freeholders and burgesses of England or their knights of the shire as such. It was said that Pym, in his anger at what he held to be desertion, said to Wentworth, "You are going to leave us, but we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders."

The King had no intimate friend and adviser to take Buckingham's place; Bishop Laud had perhaps the most influence with him, but chiefly as concerned the Church, and the State only through it. The Earls of Carlisle, Dorset and Holland were ornamental members of the Court, though they sat in the Council. Lord Coventry was Lord Chancellor, Sir Richard Weston was created Earl of Portland and was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir John Cooke and Sir Dudley Carleton were Secretaries of State. Kings were still expected to be their own Prime Ministers, and always were so in fact, except when favouritism or helplessness placed some other person in the foremost place of influence.

When Parliament met again in 1629, and the King requested them to pass the grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they chose rather to consider the complaint of a merchant from whom it had been illegally collected. Also they announced that the business of kings of earth must give place to the business of the King of Heaven. This meant that they were about to make a fresh attack on Dr. Montagu, who had recently been made Bishop of Chichester. When confirmed, according to custom in Bow Church, a bookseller named Jones had protested against him, and the Commons would fain have made out that this invalidated his election, but the case was argued by counsel and the law proved to be against them. They had a committee of religion, of which Mr. Pym was the chairman. It was said of him that he had so little religion of his own, that he had the more time for looking after other people's. Complaints were made that not one Papist had been hanged for becoming a priest! Also that Arminianism, the spawn of Popery, as it was called, was predominant. Pym proposed a conference with the Lords on these heads, and a petition was drawn up that a solemn fast day might be held on behalf of the lamentable state of the Reformed Churches abroad.

The King replied that in his opinion fighting would serve the Protestants abroad better than fasting, and again pressed for the grant of tonnage and poundage, but in vain. The Commons were resolved to attend to nothing till they had suppressed the tokens of a Catholic spirit which they hated so bitterly. In 1571, an edition of the *Thirty-nine Articles* had appeared, in which the Puritan spirit had led to the omission of the words that "The Church hath authority in controversies of faith." These had been restored, to the displeasure of the Puritans, and still more to their anger, the King had set forth

a declaration, forbidding the Article on Justification by Faith to be explained, otherwise than in its literal and grammatical sense.

This declaration was hotly denounced by Sir John Eliot as enslaving men's consciences. It never occurred to him that he was enslaving the consciences of those he termed Arminians. Other members indulged in invectives against the recent appointments of men of strong Church principles. For the first time the member for Huntingdon, Oliver Cromwell, stood up and spoke against such promotions. Complaints were drawn up against Bishops Laud, Neile, Montagu and Mainwaring, and it was demanded that the book published by the latter should be burnt.

The King had put himself in the wrong by suppressing the edition of the Petition of Right in the form in which it had stood at last, and printing it with the evasive answer he had made at first, and had been forced to abandon. This proceeding did him much harm, and raised a distrust of his good faith, which envenomed the further discussions. The refusal to grant the supplies until the complaints of the injured had been heard was reiterated, and the attacks on the Bishops continued. Sir John Eliot was in the midst of a speech, strongly denouncing the whole system of government, when he was interrupted by the Speaker, Sir John Finch, who delivered a message from the King that the House was to adjourn for a week. Several members, holding that the House had the power to settle its adjournments, declared this to be a vexatious interference, and Eliot went on with the business in hand, and called on the Speaker (Sir John Finch) to read a paper. The Speaker said he could not, the House being adjourned, and thereupon tried to rise from his chair, but Denzil Hollis and Mr. Valentine actually held him down in his chair, while other members locked the doors of the House and flung the keys on the table. Hollis swore they would sit as long as they pleased, but several gentlemen rushed to the assistance of the Speaker. He was hotly abused by many, and shed abundance of tears, but he staunchly refused to sanction the proceedings of the House. The King sent the Sergeant-of-Arms to take away the mace, but the doors being locked there was no getting in, and the Commons drew up their protest before separating, adjourning themselves till the 10th of March.

But on that day Charles repaired to the House of Lords, and dissolved the Parliament, without, as usual, sending for the Commons. He observed, in his speech on this "unpleasing occasion," as he termed it, that he knew he had many good and dutiful subjects, but that there were some vipers amongst them who had cast this mist before their eyes.

At the same time Charles caused those whom he considered as the chief vipers to be summoned before the Privy Council. These were Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Valentine, Corbin, Hobart, Hayman, Long, and Stroud, the members who had been most active in holding the Speaker in his chair, and persevering in the proceedings after the royal message

CAMEO XXII.

Impeachment of Eliot. 1629.

had been received. They refused to answer out of the House the things they had said in it, and were thereupon committed to the Tower, the King intending to proceed against them in the Star Chamber. The Judges were privately consulted, but did not take so decided a view of the illegality of their proceedings as was expected.

Meantime, the prisoners sued for their writs of *habeas corpus*, and were brought before the Court of King's Bench. The counsel for the Crown, Heath, the Attorney-General, declared that they were detained under the King's warrant for stirring up sedition. He was answered by an appeal to the Petition of Right, and he fell back on the old power of the Crown, of imprisoning at will, as an indefeasible right, which could not be interfered with by the petition, that being only a confirmation of the ancient privileges of the subject; and he adduced old authorities to prove that bail could not be given for prisoners committed under the Royal Seal.

The judges, however, sent to the Lord Keeper to intimate that by law the prisoners might be bailed, but in the meantime they had been transferred to other prisons, so that the writ of *habeas corpus* had to be sued out afresh to other jailers; and the whole matter was put off till after the vacation.

At Michaelmas, after thirty weeks imprisonment, they were required not only to find bail, but sureties for their future good conduct, and this they utterly refused to do. Then came the charge against Eliot for seditious language, and Hollis and Valentine for the tumult in the House. They declared that they were not answerable to any other Court for what was done in the House, and refused to put in any other plea. Whereupon Mr. Justice Jones sentenced them to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, Eliot to pay 2000*l.*, Hollis, 1000*l.*, Valentine, 500*l.*, Long, who had sat in Parliament after being made sheriff, was also fined 2000 marks, and imprisoned.

Eliot was a man of great piety and a highly cultivated mind, who acted throughout from a sense of duty, regardless of personal consequences. The letters to his family, written in declining health, while he wasted away in prison, and no petitions in his favour were listened to, have excited general pity and indignation at the fate of such a patriot; but it is to be remembered on behalf of the other side, that he had led on what Charles could not but regard as seditious attacks on the power of the Crown, which the King held himself bound to preserve; that his persistent attacks on Buckingham had resulted in Felton's assassination, and that that the Petition of Right itself seemed to Charles and his lawyers an encroachment extorted by force. Once granted it ought not to have been eluded, and Charles would have done well to have freely accepted the demands of the people in State matters; but he had been bred up in traditions that absolutism was the privilege and duty of a king. He saw it enjoyed by all his fellow sovereigns. Even Gustavus Adolphus held himself only responsible to his Maker, and the endeavours of Parliament to control his will and secure concessions which they

CAMEO XXII.

Birth of an heir. 1630.

called ancient rights seemed to him seditious clamours, which he had every right to silence and elude.

And there lay his snare—that he tried to elude where direct opposition had failed.

It was during the time that the prosecution of the members was pending that the heir to the throne was born, on the 29th of May, 1630, He was baptised as Charles, and throve apace, but his mother's description of him during his first year, in her letters to her old favourite, Madame de St. George, is most comical: "He is so ugly that I am ashamed of him, but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the gentleman, for he has no ordinary mien. He is so serious in all he does that I cannot help deeming him far wiser than myself."

Disputes between Charles and Henrietta had long ago ceased, and they were a most affectionate pair: indeed, the Puritans looked with disfavour on their union, being entirely persuaded that there was a deeply laid scheme for re-establishing the Roman Church.

A Scottish physician, named Leighton, living in London, put forth a book named *Sion's Flea*, in which he denounced the Queen as a Canaanitish woman, a daughter of Heth, and an idolatress; rejoiced in the murder of Buckingham, praised Felton, and called the Bishops ravens and magpies that prey on the State. He was brought before the Star Chamber and sentenced to be whipped, to have his nose slit and his ears cropped, the usual punishment for libel. He escaped to Bedford, but was captured and underwent his punishment.

Puritanism was exceeding strong in London, and the endeavours made by Laud, as diocesan, to restore due reverence to Divine worship, and to bring praise and prayer to their due place rather than sermons, seemed to them a part of the supposed Romanist conspiracy, and perfectly infuriated them. Kneeling, and bowing at the Holy Name, and at the doxology, were freshly enjoined, and this caused a great outcry; and when Laud consecrated two churches, St. Catherine Cree and St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, with a service compiled by Bishop Andrewes from the old Pontifical, the same, in fact, as is in constant use at present, the whole party were greatly offended. They actually supposed the words from the opening Psalm, the 24th, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of Glory shall come in," to be intended to apply to the entrance of the Bishop in procession.

A devotional book of Dr. Cosin also raised a fierce storm. The ladies of Queen Henrietta's Court, struck with the regularity with which their Roman Catholic coadjutors observed their hours of prayer, wished for something to assist them in the same manner, and Dr. Cosin drew up a beautiful manual adapted to the canonical hours, and based on each of the six petitions of the Lord's prayer. It is difficult to conceive how irreverent, shocking, and formal this appeared to the Puritans. "The cozening Devotions of Dr. Cosin," as they termed the

CAMEO XXII.

Laud as Chancellor. 1630.

book, was genuinely held by sincerely good and earnest men to be full of fatal error, by its very regularity.

In 1630 the Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, died, and in spite of the efforts of the Calvinistic party, Laud was elected in his stead. Already, as President of St. John's, he had been a great benefactor to the University, having enriched the library with an immense number of manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, and other Eastern languages, and he proceeded to enlarge the buildings of the old library to receive them. His vigour and liberality were everywhere felt. He was adding to and rebuilding St. John's, his own college; he caused St. Mary's, the University Church, to be repaired and a porch added to it; set up a Greek Press at Oxford and in London, and made his hand felt in enforcing the observance of all the college statutes, which were almost forgotten or neglected. As Bishop of London he raised contributions for the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, which had been utterly neglected ever since the time of Bishop Bancroft. Inigo Jones was his architect, and raised buildings of a character more Byzantine than anything else, with a peculiar original beauty of their own, though neither exactly Greek nor exactly Gothic, and bearing the impress of a great man. It was called Palladian, from the Italian *palladio*. The King bore the whole expanse of the grand portico of St. Paul's, and was also building the magnificent palace of Whitehall, planned by Inigo Jones, and begun in the time of James I. The ceilings of the Banqueting-house were painted by the great Fleming, Rubens, and altogether Whitehall, with its seven courts and splendid symmetry, was one of the most magnificent palaces ever inhabited by royalty.

Rubens was a knight and man of family, and through him propositions for peace with Spain were first made. Charles was already at peace with France. He could hardly undertake a foreign war, for he was resolved to avoid calling another Parliament except as a last resource. And the endeavour to carry on government without parliamentary grants led to expedients which intensified all the discontents of the country party, and did much to justify the determined spirit of resistance which was biding its time.

Queen Elizabeth had considerable private property of the Crown to fall back upon, but a large portion of this had been squandered on favourites by James I., and Charles had, besides, to maintain his sister and all her children out of it; nor had he Elizabeth's utter callousness to the sufferings of her soldiers and sailors. Thus money had to be raised in every possible way. The tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, and rates on merchandise were raised.

Also, whereas royal property, such as the forests and other open ground, had been gradually clipped and nibbled by settlers at the borders, all such encroachments were diligently examined into, and compensation made for past rent. All gentlemen of a certain amount of property were, by ancient custom, supposed to come and receive

CAMEO XXII.

Oppressive modes of raising money.

knighthood from the Sovereign and to pay a certain fee, and baronets' heirs, on their father's death, were also knighted. The custom had, however, fallen into desuetude, and many squires grudged the expense of an empty title. These had neglected the former summons of the heralds to come to be knighted at the coronation, and they now were called upon, not only to come and be knighted, but to pay a fine for their previous neglect. There was much murmuring at this, and though a considerable sum was obtained, it was at the cost of much unpopularity.

The monopolies which had been dropped were revived, not for the benefit of courtiers, but bestowed on companies of merchants or tradesmen who paid largely for them.

Considerable sums were also gained from owners of houses built in disregard of the late King's repeated proclamations against enlarging London, which he viewed as a nest of pestilence. The owners of all these new houses were summoned before Commissioners, and forced either to demolish them or pay three years' rent as a fine to the Treasury. All these expedients certainly raised money, but they were felt to be shifts for doing in a wrong way what might be done in a right way, and they gave a sore sense of grievance and oppression.

There were many livings in England whose advowsons had been held by monasteries, and these had fallen into the hands of the persons to whom the religious houses had been granted, and there were also many rectories which had always been in the hands of laymen. A society of Puritan gentlemen and merchants made a subscription to buy up all such lay impropriations as might be for sale, so as to be able to present to them clergy of their own way of thinking, or even nonconformists. They contrived to avoid making actual presentations, so as to keep their nominees in the condition of curates, whom they displaced supposing the sermons were not according to their views, or if too much obedience were shown to the injunctions of the Bishops of higher opinions. The Bishops complained, and the Attorney-General, Noy, succeeded in proving that the entire corporation was illegal, having been formed without charter from the Crown, and having, besides, not made genuine appointments to benefices. All the funds were therefore forfeited to the Crown, to be employed for the good of the Church. Very likely they were, but it would have been well if they had been publicly accounted for.

Fines imposed by the Star Chamber were also a fertile source of income; though, in point of fact, the sum actually levied was generally very much less than that named in the sentence. The most famous of these prosecutions was that of William Prynne. He was an Oxford scholar, and a barrister-at-law, thirty-three years of age, very learned, and a violent and furious Calvinist. He had already gone into controversy on Bishop Cosin's Devotions, which he had scurrilously abused, and the amusements of the Court and people appeared to him perfectly horrible.

CAMEO XXII.
—
Histrio Mastix.

The age was a coarse one, and evil was no doubt joined with many of the diversions both of the populace and nobility; the Queen was a frivolous woman, and there was levity among her gay young attendants; but to Prynne's mind the wickedness was inherent in everything that gave brightness to life, and he published a book of 1,000 pages, called *Histrio Mastix, or The Scourge of Players*, which abused everything that was not Puritan in the most unmeasured terms.

The chase, maypoles, bonfires, Christmas feasts, decking houses with ivy, dancing, music, every sort of sport came under his lash, as well as the masques and stage plays which he attacked; nay, he described church music as "not to be a noise of men, but rather a bleating of brute beasts. Choristers bellow the tenor as it were oxen, bark a counterpoint as a kennel of dogs, roar out a treble like a sort of bulls, grunt out a bass as it were a number of hogs." He adduced texts of Scripture, seventy-one fathers and Christians, before 1200, 150 after, and forty heathen philosophers, all jumbled up in the wildest confusion, to prove the iniquity of the drama, of singing, sacred and secular, of dancing, of repetitions in prayer and of Bishops.

Now Charles and Henrietta had been bred up to masques. He had been a Cupid at six or seven years old, and *la petite Madame's* dancing had been the admiration of the French Court. She was actually rehearsing for a pastoral when the Bishop of London first mentioned the book to the King, who was much displeased.

The lawyers of the Inns of Courts showed their disapproval by performing a masque before the King and Queen at Whitehall, by way of celebrating the birth of a second prince. The Council decided that such railing against pastimes sanctioned and even practised by royalty, was an offence against Majesty. Prynne was sent to the Tower, and Dr. Heylin was called on to make a report of the book for the Star Chamber.

He culled many such choice morsels as have been here quoted, which moved the whole Council not so much to laughter as to indignation, the Earl of Dorset being particularly hot in the matter. It was he who gave sentence, a fine of 10,000*l.*, which, like other such fines, was only demanded in part, and to be branded SS. on the forehead, slit in the nose, and his ears cropped. It was a horrible and barbarous sentence; but it was a mitigation of what it would have been in Elizabeth's time, when the treasonable libeller lost his right hand. The fashion is to accuse Laud of special enmity to Prynne, as if he had hunted him down and invented the punishment for his special benefit and Leighton's: whereas he simply was a member of the Privy Council, and the law took its natural course. Prynne was yet to suffer further, and not one present there could have guessed that only fifteen years later there would come forth, *Mr. William Prynne, his Defence of Stage Plays!*

The Attorney-General, Noy, discovered another mode of supplying the needs of the Treasury.

From Alfred's time, the ports and internal places, had been called

on to provide the King with ships, and there was no doubt of the need, for the French and Dutch did much harm in the fisheries, and the Moorish pirates marauded up to the coasts of Ireland. Writs were therefore issued to the sheriffs of the counties, calling on them to provide the sums at which the shires were assessed for the support of the navy; and thus 218,500*l.* was yearly raised and faithfully spent upon the navy, which consisted of sixty ships in excellent order. The opinion of the Judges was asked whether the tax could be legally levied for the protection of the country when it was not actually at war, and their opinion was in favour of his Majesty being the judge whether there were danger or not. However, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, John Hampden, a grave and thoughtful man, held, that to submit to this tax was to give up the whole question that no supplies could be granted save by the consent of the people given through the House of Commons. He was rated for twenty shillings, and he refused to pay, demurring to the proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, in 1637. After twelve days of argument, seven Judges were against Hampden, five for him, and the right of levying ship-money was held to be established; but in point of fact the nation felt itself circumvented, and nourished the strongest resentment, to be poured forth whenever there should be an opportunity afforded by the King's further necessities.

CAMEO XXIII.

THOROUGH.

(1632—1637.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1619. Ferdinand II.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXIII.

Church and State.

WHETHER we admire and venerate William Laud simply depends on this question: Is there a Church Catholic, instituted by Christ, with fixed laws, or ought religion to be just what best pleases the nation? By this he stands or falls, so far as principle goes. As to the mode, he lived at a period when it was still felt as the office of the Sovereign to direct his people's religion. This was recognised all over Germany; and the Emperor had succeeded in effecting immense changes in his hereditary dominions. The English had veered about most obediently at the will of the Tudors, not a century ago, and made far more decisive changes than merely conforming to the precise ritual arranged by their own Reformers, and the stubbornness of the spirit of resistance that had grown up had not yet been realised.

No one could be less inclined to Romanism than Laud, but the Puritans, already inclined to believe everything not barely Calvinistic was Popish, were led to further distrust by the Queen's religion, the King's reluctance to persecute, and the lapses of some of the courtiers, who were perverted by her chaplains. Moreover, Laud, in trying to restore the Church to her full weight, and in his distrust of the profligate courtiers who had grown up under James I., thrust himself and other prelates into political life, in a manner most unfortunate in the temper of the nation, who had only to look across the Channel to see an ecclesiastic trampling on all the remaining liberties of the nation, and who were not likely to understand that, whereas Richelieu was a priest by accident as it were, and made the Church subservient to statesmanship, Laud only treated politics as a means of rendering the Church effective.

His manners too were against him. A small, eager-tempered man,

CAMEO XXIII.

Death of Abbot. 1633.

of the country tradesman class, could hardly acquire the grand and gracious manner suited to high position, making commands and exhortations palatable, and giving rebukes authority without a sting; and though the persons of all classes who knew him best, loved and honoured him, outsiders hated and derided him; while some historians have no better name for him than the Meddling Primate, or, Charles's evil genius, not understanding that what they term meddling arose from a resolution to see the worship of God made seemly and reverent, and to train the nation in doctrines too much forgotten. Whether this could have been done in a better fashion, causing less exasperation and prejudice, there is no knowing. Laud did train the clergy to his principles, but had not time to train the people, save by dying a martyr to his cause. The power of resorting to Government for assistance was a great temptation, and probably was what chiefly worked against him.

In August 1633 King Charles heard the tidings of the death of old Archbishop Abbot. When he next saw Laud he received him, smiling, with "My Lord of Canterbury, you are very welcome." It is a strange thing that at this very time a person, asserting that he was commissioned by authority, twice came to him secretly with the offer of a cardinal's hat, which he decidedly refused. He was so much disliked by the Roman Catholics that there is reason to think that the offer was simply an attempt of his enemies to bring him into disgrace.

Lady Eleanor Davies prophesied that the new primate would not survive the 5th of November. It was a mischievous prediction, for threatening notes were often sent to the Archbishop, and the fate of Doctor Lamb, and of Buckingham, were warnings that they might not be treated lightly. So the lady was called before the Star Chamber, where she defended her prophecy with the anagram of her name, "Reveal O Daniel," whereupon Doctor Lamb, Dean of the Court of Arches, put into her hand one which he had concocted from Dame Eleanor Davies, "Never so mad a ladie." It absolutely threw her into confusion, and her judges seem to have satisfied themselves that she was half mad.

Armed with the authority of a Primate, and favoured by the King, Laud proceeded in his work of raising the tone of his Church, chiefly by enforcing old rules. Under Bancroft, in 1603, it had been enacted that nobody should be admitted to Holy Orders without what is now called a title, namely, security of immediate employment and maintenance; but this was continually neglected, and led to the ordination of necessitous persons of irregular habits. A royal letter was therefore issued, commanding this to be carefully observed, and threatening proceedings in the High Commission Court against any Bishop who transgressed. The High Commission Court represented the supremacy of the King over the Church, established by Henry VIII., and was wielded as a powerful engine for putting down irregularities, such as lecturers omitting to read prayers before their sermon, preaching in

CAMEO XXIII.
—
The Sabbatarian Question.

cloaks instead of gowns, the administration of the Cup to a seated congregation, and the like. Fines could be imposed by it, and were so with much severity; and it was equally hated and dreaded with the Star Chamber, which just at this time fined one Mr. Edward Sherfield 500*l.*, for dashing his stick through an ancient stained glass window in Salisbury Cathedral which he considered idolatrous.

The Sabbatarian controversy was at the same time revived. At the Somersetshire Assize some offences were shown to have been committed at village feasts, whereupon the two Judges, Richardson and Denham, issued an order against all such entertainments, commanding it to be read in church every year on the first Sunday in February and the two Sundays after Easter. This was greatly exceeding the authority of a Judge, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells was commissioned to inquire into the matter. Seventy of the clergy of the diocese were assembled, and most were in favour of the wakes, saying that the services were most fully attended on those Sundays, and that they were opportunities for friends to meet, and the poor to enjoy themselves. Chief Justice Richardson was sent for to the Council. He justified himself by saying that he had been requested by the Justices of the Peace to issue the order; but in fact there was a strong party on each side, one half the gentlemen favouring the feasts, the other wishing to put them down. It may be believed that, though there was church-going, the day often ended in riot, and that each side might find good reasons for their views; but it was still certain that Richardson had greatly exceeded his powers; and he received so sharp a rebuke, that he left the Council Chamber in tears, and afterwards said, "I have been almost choked by a pair of lawn sleeves."

Meantime, Charles republished his father's *Book of Sports*, and proclamation about it, with a special supplement in favour of dedication feasts, with commands that, though disorders should be repressed, manlike and lawful exercises might be used on Sunday; the duty to God having been first done; and this extended till after evensong.

The Puritans regarded these orders as a horrible scandal, and many of the clergy refused to read them in their churches, but no one was summoned before the High Commission Court for disregarding them, except when there were other offences to answer for. About the same time a very sharp rebuke was sent to the Archbishop of Glasgow, for permitting a Sunday to be kept as a fast.

Laud proceeded to hold a Metropolitical Visitation, instituting inquiries into the state and furniture of the churches, and the administration of the Sacraments. Moreover, he found that the position of the Communion Table led to serious evils. It had been brought down from the chancel into the nave, and there stood lengthwise. All reverence had been lost. It was the place where people put their hats, vestry meetings assembled, churchwardens' accounts were transacted, and children's writing lessons were given, and it was a favourite seat for

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Position of the Altar.

persons who came to church only in time for the sermon. At Taplow a dog came in, and ran away with a loaf that was provided for the Holy Sacrament, and as no other white bread was to be had in the parish there could be no Communion.

In royal Chapels and Cathedrals the Altar stood at the east end, and there was an injunction of Queen Elizabeth to that effect, which seems to have been generally disregarded. Laud now issued directions as Primate that in every church the Holy Table should be removed to the east end of the choir, stand on a step, and be railed in, explaining and arguing out his reasons, and showing that there could be no Popery in treating the Lord's Table differently from a man's own board. Nothing that he did, however, raised a greater storm than did these orders. Prynne was in the field again with all his abuse, Bishop Williams of Lincoln wrote against the change, and also resisted the right of Visitation, on the ground of certain Papal Bulls exempting his diocese. The Attorney-General decided against him, but he took his own way by railing in the Tables where they stood in the chancel. Bishop Matthew Wren, of Norwich, and the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Bath and Wells, gladly carried out the orders, and in many churches there was great improvement; but in London there was much resistance, and, in fact, the position of the Communion Table was regarded as a badge of party. The Puritans everywhere withstood the change, and it rankled in their minds where it was effected.

Another difficulty was respecting the Dutch and French refugees who had settled in England, and had chapels of their own. Many of these had come to the second or third generation, and could understand English perfectly well, and their privileged chapels were towers of strength to the Nonconformists. It was decreed that all the children born on English soil should go to the parish church, and that the foreigners should use the Anglican Liturgy translated into French or Dutch. On this the Duke of Soubise presented a petition, declaring that any harshness to the refugees would lead to a worse persecution of the Huguenots in France, and the rule was relaxed with regard to the French congregations in Kent. In Norwich, however, Bishop Wren carried out the regulation strictly, and some Dutch families left the country in consequence. It was said that thousands went; and, in truth, the Puritans were more and more migrating to America, there to set up a State fashioned according to their own ideas. Yet Laud had a letter from the Dutch and French congregations of Norwich, thanking him for his consideration towards them. He also insisted that regular chaplains should be appointed, and services performed in English factories abroad, and among English soldiers serving in Germany. His view was, that these things being done by authority the people would be educated by them, and opposition would die away, especially as the clergy brought up in the Colleges he was influencing, at Oxford and Cambridge, would take the place of the elder and more Calvinistically inclined. The lectures were discouraged as much as

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Censorship of the Press.

possible, and absolute edicts issued against meddling with the Arminian controversy. As Archbishop, Laud was also censor of the press, and kept a strict hand over the books that went forth, endeavouring to prohibit Calvinistic and seditious books. Among those he endeavoured to suppress was *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, a great favourite with the Puritans, but which was well-known among educated persons to be extremely incorrect as to facts. The Archbishop's dislike to it was naturally attributed by its many admirers to love of Popery. If Laud had lived two generations sooner, his authoritative reforms would probably have been submissively accepted, but coming as they did when the country was in a ferment on political accounts, they produced strong enmity and hatred.

It told further against him, that, much against his will, he was made Lord Treasurer, chiefly because, among the secular courtiers at hand, the King could find no one whose honesty he could completely trust against the traditional perquisites and temptations. Laud kept the office only long enough to see its temptations, and to resolve to recommend, as his successor in it, only a man who was not only of perfect integrity, but who had neither wife nor family to tempt him by solicitations, and this person he found in William Juxon, his successor in the See of London, who fulfilled the office excellently. But, unfortunately, the joining State offices with ecclesiastical ones had a very bad effect in adding to the popular dislike and dread of the Episcopacy. Nobles and lawyers who expected offices, were angered at their being conferred on prelates. Moreover, Laud sharply censured crime in the high nobility, who had grown up in dissolute habits during the evil days of the end of the reign of James I. King Charles himself was of blameless life, and there were many gentlemen of great worth and excellence at his Court, highly cultivated, and of graceful manners; but the Queen was frivolous and pleasure-loving, and there was a good deal of dissipation among those who went the further out of contempt for Puritan strictness. Laud spared no ecclesiastical censures where they were incurred, and his one failure in duty, when he had wedded the Earl of Devon to Penelope Devereux, made his strictures be the more resented.

Much was also in hand for the improvement of the Irish Church. Lord Falkland was the Lord Deputy till 1629, a good but stern man, who cast off his eldest son, Lucius Cary, for a marriage which displeased him. The struggles under him were chiefly religious ones. The cavern called St. Patrick's purgatory, in an island of Lough Deargh, a great place of pilgrimage, was dug up and destroyed by the Lords Justices, and, on the other hand, the Carmelites in Cork raised up a great tumult, and insulted the Mayor and Archbishop of Dublin. The Protestant clergy were of a low stamp, and it was said of them that the King's priests were as bad as the Pope's priests.

James Usher, a good and learned man, but a strong Calvinist, was Archbishop of Armagh, and in 1629 a most excellent appointment

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The rule of Wentworth. 1632.

was made, namely, of William Bedell, to the united See of Kilmore and Ardagh. He had been in Italy as chaplain to the admirable Sir Henry Wootton, ambassador at Venice, and there had been an intimate friend of Father Paolo Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, so that he was far less narrow than most of the clergy who came to Ireland. He was sent thither as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and did his best to raise the tone of the young men, especially by lectures on the Church Catechism. He was afterwards appointed to these bishoprics, which had been so much despoiled and robbed that it was supposed that a bishop could hardly support himself except by selling the most sacred offices.

The whole population, except the English settlers, was Roman Catholic, and no wonder, for the few vicars held three or four parishes apiece, and could not speak a word of Irish, and even the parish clerks were pluralists.

In 1632, Viscount Wentworth, Laud's greatest friend, had been sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland. Strong-handed and high-hearted, clear-headed and resolute, loyal to the backbone, and indefatigable, he was judged to be the fittest person to deal with the troubled waters of Ireland. He was a devoted churchman, and in constant correspondence with Laud, not merely as a statesman but a friend. "Thorough" was a kind of watchword between them, expressing the fullness of loyalty and obedience to Church and King, on which their own souls were set, and into which they expected to drive all with whom they were concerned. Their mistake was in thinking such coercion possible at the period, and under a master who was not passive like Louis XIII.

Wentworth arrived in Ireland, suddenly, on the 23rd of July, and entered Dublin so rapidly as to disconcert the preparations for his public reception. A few days later he was married to his second wife, Elizabeth Rhodes.

Almost the first Petition presented to him was one from the people of Cavan, headed by Bishop Bedell, complaining of the ferocious and disorderly soldiery, and the excesses they committed. Though Wentworth was displeased with the Bishop for what he thought disloyalty in complaining of the King's soldiers, he took the army in hand, drilled it, sometimes putting idle officers to shame by himself showing men how to go through their exercises, insisted on discipline throughout, and punished all offences; but at the same time he forced on the understanding of the Irish Parliament that if a soldier was neither paid, clothed, nor fed, he could hardly be expected not to help himself. And he obtained, not without strong pressure, contributions for the support of the army, which was absolutely necessary for the security of men of English blood.

Special orders were sent from the King in Council to the Primate, for the improvement of the activity and discipline of the Church, especially against the simoniacal appointments of incompetent persons,

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The Royal Visitation. 1633.

which were constantly taking place, and the almost universal neglect of duty.

Usher followed up this letter by his example and injunctions. He himself preached every Sunday, and he directed his clergy to catechise "the youth" before public prayers, and likewise, after the Second Lesson, to spend half an hour in teaching the principles of religion, going clause by clause through the Creed, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and doctrine of the Sacraments. He had drawn out a scheme of fifty heads, so that the whole course might be yearly gone through. Bedell also worked vigorously, and even revived Diocesan Synods among his clergy.

In 1633 a royal Visitation was held, of which John Bramhall was one of the commissioners, as the Lord Deputy's chaplain. How lamentable the state of things was can hardly be described. The revenues of the See of Cloyne amounted to five marks a year! Those of Ardfert came to *1l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Cork and Ross fared the best, having been held by gentlemen of the Boyle family; who had been more honest men than such incumbents as had let off estates for a large fine, paid to themselves, and a nominal rent. "The inferior sort of ministers," wrote Bramhall, "are below all degrees of contempt in respect of their poverty and ignorance." Forty shillings a year was frequently their whole stipend! Many benefices were leased to noblemen. The Earl of Cork rented the whole bishopric of Lismore at forty shillings a year. As to the churches, the Lord Deputy found the Altar thrust out of his private chapel and his own seat in its place, while an enormous monument, five stories high, had been erected in the place of the Altar in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and St. Andrew's church was converted into a stable. What, then, must have been the state of things in remoter places?

Strange people, too, were in office, especially in the Protestant north. One Christopher Sands, a schoolmaster at Londonderry, was absolutely a Jew, denying the Gospel. Mr. Robert Blair had been invited from Scotland to Bangor, in County Down, by the patron, Lord Claneboy, though he openly objected to episcopacy and the Liturgy, and was inducted with a Presbyterian ordination and no conditions, by "the old, yielding, and submissive Bishop Echlin;" and his first act was to rebuke his patron for kneeling at Holy Communion. Mr. John Livingstone, silenced in Scotland by Archbishop Spottiswood, received a unanimous call from Killinchy, also through the interposition of Lord Claneboy. By his own account, the Bishop of Down, the diocesan, "being a corrupt and timorous man, would require some engagement." Therefore Lord Claneboy sent the minister to Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, who "told me he knew my errand; that I came because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr. Josias Walsh and some others had done before, and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purposes but to do such offices."

This obliging Bishop "behoved to be present" when Livingstone was ordained by Mr. Cunningham and other ministers; but the Book of

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The Irish Church.

Ordination was used, with everything marked out that Presbyterianism objected to.

Mr. Blair was called on to preach a visitation sermon in 1626, when two Bishops, commissaries for Archbishop Usher, were present, whereupon he took the opportunity of proving—to his own satisfaction—that episcopacy was not a divine institution, and modestly exhorting the Bishops to use moderately that power which custom and human laws had put into their hands. The Bishop of Dromore mildly accepted the advice, only requesting Mr. Blair "to behave as moderately to them as they had done to me."

The caution might be necessary, for though Livingstone pronounced Usher "a godly man though a bishop," Blair would not stay in the primate's house, because he had "once met the English Liturgy there, and he expected other things than formal Liturgies in the family of so learned and pious a man."

Usher had, however, considerable sympathy with the ministers, and when, on some illegal proceedings of theirs in Scotland, Bishop Echlin took heart of grace to suspend them, he required that "the erroneous censure should be relaxed." This was done, but, in 1632, the general quickening of discipline made Echlin require them to conform, and on their refusal he deprived them. They applied again to Usher; but he could not interfere, as the command to require conformity had been issued from the King.

At the same time Bishop Bedell declared, that though the Romish priesthood in Ireland more than doubled the English clergy, besides that there was "a rabble of irregular regulars," most of them were frightfully ignorant. The priests could only read their Latin offices without understanding them, and merely taught the people to repeat the Pater and Ave. The friars preached and made collections at their services, but their insolency and wild superstitious legends had come under the censure of the Sorbonne, although this had been withdrawn by order of the Pope. At a synod of these ecclesiastics at Drogheda, it had been decided that it was unlawful to take the oath of allegiance!

Bishop Bedell's mode of meeting these difficulties was both wise and gentle. He studied Irish, had Irish services in his cathedral, and began adding a translation of the Old Testament to the one already existing of the New, into the vernacular. He also sent about papers with parallel columns of passages of Scripture and prayers in English and Irish, and he promoted schools in the parishes. He maintained friendly intercourse with the priests, and succeeded in converting some of them, to whom he gave preferment, and he even infused instruction into a neighbouring Convent of friars.

Unfortunately, there were but few like this good man, and, in 1634, Wentworth wrote a formal and most piteous statement of the general disorder and neglect.

A Convocation was summoned at the same time as a Parliament at Dublin, and much was done to remedy the temporal poverty of the clergy.

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The Articles adopted. 1634.

At the same time they were called upon to adopt the English canons and the Thirty-nine Articles. Usher was unwilling because of the Articles contradictory to extreme Calvinism, but in the end they were adopted, with only one dissentient voice, that of a minister from Down. The canons were somewhat modified, chiefly under the direction of Bramhall, who had become Bishop of Derry. There was much discontent, and the Lord Deputy wrote to Laud, "I am not ignorant that my stirring in this manner will be strangely reported and censured, and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Pyms, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, Heaven knows. Sure I am I have gone herein with an upright heart to prevent a breach apparent, at least between the Churches of England and Ireland."

At the Parliament of 1634, the Lord Deputy, as the representative of royalty, was escorted by the Earl of Kildare, bearing the cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Ormond the sword of state. There was a regulation issued, by Lord Deputy Chichester, that no member of the Irish Parliament should wear his sword, and an usher of the Black Rod was stationed at the door to receive them. Ormond, then twenty-four years of age, refused to yield his, and on the Usher insisting, said, "If he had it at all, it should be in his body." The Deputy, much displeased, sent for the young nobleman to answer for his disobedience. Ormond said that he knew of the order, but that he had another to show, and produced the royal writ summoning him in the old form to Parliament, *cum gladio cinctus*, girt with the sword, as a belted earl. Wentworth held the answer sufficient, and afterwards held council with his two friends, Sir George Radcliffe and Mr. Wandesford, whether such a spirit should be crushed or made a friend. Happily, the latter alternative was decided on. Ormond, the head of the house of Butler, was found a brave, honest, honourable man; he was made a privy councillor at once, and never failed in hearty loyalty. He was "thorough."

Wentworth's iron will was quite ready to crush those whom he thought to deserve it. He did not choose to see King or Church robbed, and his hand fell heavily on the swarms of persons who had enriched themselves in contravention of their engagements. He squeezed 70,000*l.* out of the London Companies settled in Ulster, making the citizens thus his deadly enemies; he looked into all men's titles to their estates, and forced them to give compensation to the Government which they or their fathers had cheated, thus handing to Charles large sums, which enabled the Government to be carried on, and amazed statesmen by making Ireland a source of revenue instead of expenditure. Of course the undertakers and their sons were furious, called him "Black Tom," and execrated him—all the more that they found themselves hindered in maltreating the mere Irish as usual, and found that the penal laws were kept in suspension. A great manufactory of flax was set up under Wentworth's

auspices, and for centuries later Irish linen was the chief export; but the narrow political economy of the day forbade woollen cloths to be exported lest the trade of England should be damaged. The overbearing and greedy nobility of Ireland were among those whom Lord Wentworth treated with stern contempt and indignation, and who became his enemies. Lord Cork had some good qualities, and seems to have been a good and beneficent landlord, building schools and almshouses, but he had been a great robber of Church lands and of tithes, and many prosecutions were needed before he came to a composition and made something like restitution.

CAMBO XXIII.

Discontent of the Irish nobles.

While this was pending, the Earl of Kildare, who had married one of Cork's daughters, first refused to come to Parliament, and when compelled to come made a factious opposition. Wentworth reproved him, on which he secretly embarked for England, repaired to the Duke of Lennox, an old friend, and requested to be conducted to the King to make his complaint. Charles, however, had received letters from the Lord Deputy, and refused to hear or see the runaway, who was obliged to return home, and behaved himself suitably afterwards.

Another affair that made a great disturbance, was that of Francis Annesley, Lord Mountnorris, who was vice-treasurer, and had several times had disagreements with the Deputy. One of his relations, a lieutenant in the army, for some breach of discipline, had, after the custom of the time, been caned by Lord Wentworth. He, some time after, let a stool fall on the Lord Deputy's gouty foot. The story was told at a dinner-party at the Lord Chancellor's, and it was said to have been done on purpose. "Annesley has a brother who would not have taken such a revenge," said Mountnorris—words that certainly might bear the meaning that a more serious vengeance might be claimed from the representative of royalty. Mountnorris, being a captain in the army, was tried before a court-martial for mutiny, found guilty, and sentenced to death, but Wentworth, only wishing to give him a lesson, recommended him to mercy, and he was released, but with a bitter feeling of hatred and enmity.

One of his great efforts was to secure that the heirs of Romanist families, if left orphans, should be bred up by Protestants. The law already existed, and the youth, on coming of age, could not obtain possession of his lands unless he took the Oath of Supremacy. Charles had promised to repeal this law in 1628, but Wentworth avoided doing so, and also overthrew an arrangement by which the rule had been evaded—by leasing lands on hundred years' leases to trustees. There was tyranny and injustice in such a custom, but it was one in which all the statesmen and sovereigns of the time concurred, viewing it as their paternal duty to the young wards to have them brought up in the faith they themselves held to be right. The weak point was that, in 1628, Charles had made an engagement to the contrary, as likewise he had undertaken to confirm all the existing titles of those

CAMEO XXIII.

Investigation of Titles. 1635.

who had occupied Crown lands. There was, however, some informality, and Lord Falkland had avoided getting the resolution confirmed, as had Lord Cork and Chancellor Loftus, who governed in the interval between him and Wentworth, who thus thought himself justified in throwing over the whole.

A severe investigation of titles, backed by 500 horsemen, and intimidation of juries, resulted in the recovery of large amounts of Crown lands, including the whole of Connaught, which was claimed for Charles as heir of the Irish Earls of Clare through the house of York. Wentworth meant to return three-fourths to the former possessors, reserving one-fourth to the Crown, and there making a "plantation" after a fashion of his own.

Complaints and appeals were constantly sent to Charles, but in 1636 Wentworth paid a brief visit to the English Court and fully satisfied the King. Of his perfect integrity there could be no doubt, nor of the grand statesmanlike ability which was making a new country of Ireland. The ragged, starving army, once terrible only to the peaceful, was now orderly, efficient, well clothed, fed, and paid; where there had been one ton of shipping in the harbours there were now a hundred; the land was peaceful and better cultivated; the nobles and gentry restrained from maltreating the unhappy Irish. The bishoprics were being filled up by conscientious men; their revenues, and those of the clergy, had been partly restored; doctrine and discipline were improving; and learning beginning to thrive at the University of Dublin, of which, much against his will, Archbishop Laud had been elected Chancellor.

Certainly Wentworth had been "thorough." His enemies held that all this had been effected by the most blood-thirsty injustice and tyranny, trampling on rights everywhere for the sake of personal ambition and greed. As to these two last, Wentworth gained nothing; he simply worked for the King, and he prevented bloodshed. Intimidation there was, but it is to be remembered that the men he had to deal with were proverbially incapable of returning an honest verdict; and as to their outcries about the injustice and oppression of Government, we have heard the like in our own day. The proprietors of English blood, and nobles of the English pale, had been used to lord it as they chose over both the Crown and the native population, and to trample the Church under their feet, and when they found themselves in the powerful grasp of a true king of men they laid up hot indignation against the time of vengeance.

Now, however, all went well, the King was grateful to the only man who knew how to deal with Ireland; and Queen Henrietta, though she could not like any one so "thorough" and earnest, pronounced that the Viscount Wentworth had the most beautiful hands in the Court, and Wentworth's fellow-worker was finding response of Church feeling in many quarters. Good George Herbert had just ended his beautiful and tranquil life at Bemerton, taken away from the evil to come, but

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Visit of Charles to Oxford. 1636.

his poems and his *Country Pastor* were doing their work. And at Little Gidding, Nicolas Farrer with his mother, brother, nephews, and nieces were living, in a perpetual round of devotion and good works. The King and Queen made a state progress to Oxford, accompanied by their two eldest nephews, Charles Louis, the young Elector Palatine, and Rupert, who had been sent by their mother to visit him, and showed none of their father's aversion to the English Church.

The Archbishop received them as Chancellor, and Christ Church presented the King with a Bible, the Queen with a pair of gloves, Charles Louis with Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Rupert with a translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*. They attended the cathedral service, where the King knelt very devoutly, "his long left lock shelving over his shoulder." He went daily to church, as usual, during his stay, and the evenings were mostly spent in seeing plays acted by the undergraduates.

This was the first visit of Charles's two nephews to England, under the care of their mother's champion, Lord Craven, and they were very happy there. They showed no objection to the English Church, and Rupert being bright of wit, Laud proposed to let him take Holy Orders and be provided for with a bishopric. But Rupert was too soldierly for such a course, and it was then proposed to make him Viceroy of Madagascar or St. Lawrence, as it was then called, while Charles Louis was to set up another kingdom in the West Indies. No one seems to have had any scruples as to the rights of the inhabitants, but the youths' mother put a stop to the plan by writing that she would have none of her sons go for knights errant. She said it was like Don Quixote's promise to make his trusty squire king of an island. Then there was a scheme of marrying Rupert to Marguerite de Rohan, daughter and heiress to the great Duke, but this fell through after long negotiation. The lads had been very happy in England, and when their mother recalled them to the Hague, fearful of the dissipations of Henrietta's Court, and of the spirit of proselytism there, Rupert, as he went out for his last hunt with his uncle, was heard wishing that he might break his neck that he might leave his bones in England.

There is a most graceful portrait of him at this period—when he was eighteen years of age, with a spirited, gentle face, long floating hair, and deep lace collar and cuffs; presented by his mother to Lord Craven—painted by Antonio Vandyke, the Fleming, who was commemorating the gentlemen of the Court of England with unrivalled perfection. He gave the King's features a wonderful dignity and pathos, such as made the Italian sculptor, for whom Charles's head was painted in three aspects, the full face and the two profiles, exclaim, "That man will die a violent death." His ladies were less successful, though the dress of the period was simple and tasteful; but his children, especially the royal ones, petticoated and tight-capped little things, were full of character. Elizabeth declared that "if her son had stayed ten days longer at St. James's he would have come back a Catholic," and

CAMEO XXIII.

Prynne's libel. 1637.

Henrietta rejoined, that if she had thought so she would have kept him. But he showed that both ladies were wrong.

All these years, however, spent without convoking Parliament, were adding to the spirit of disaffection, which broke forth from time to time in libels. Prynne brought himself into trouble again with a bitterer book than ever, in which he spoke of the Archbishop as archagent for the devil, said, "Beelzebub himself had been archbishop," and called the whole Bench "Luciferian lords, execrable traitors, devouring wolves." Bastwick, a doctor of medicine, wrote a book called *Medico Mastix*, in which he said the bishops were more disobedient and worse than the devils themselves, and called them "rook-catchers, murdering hirelings, atheists, a commonwealth of rats;" "like the giants of old, making war against the clouds." Barton, a clergyman, preached two sermons with equally remarkable terms of abuse of the whole Bench—"miscreants, traps and wiles of the dragon-dogs, new Babel-builders, blind watchmen, dumb dogs, ravening wolves, factors for antichrist, antichristian mush rumps." In an apology, or rather defence, he proceeded to term them "Jesuitical polypragmatics and sons of Belial."

The three authors were brought before the Star Chamber, sentenced to stand in the pillory, have their ears cut off, and be branded in the face, besides undergoing imprisonment at His Majesty's pleasure. Laud was in the court, but only to defend himself from their accusations, and he did not vote on their punishment. "I shall forbear to censure them," he said, "and leave them to God's mercy and the King's justice."

Of course, it was well to silence such foul-mouthed railing. In the Tudor times this would have been done by death, and the mitigated law was still a savage one. The public punishment did nothing but harm. Prynne's ears had been only clipped before, now they were more cruelly hacked. The people cried out with sympathy, and Prynne, as he stood in the pillory, was stung by the pain into making a discourse on his wrongs, which embittered the people more and more. Laud was much concerned at the folly of allowing him to speak, and when, on their way to imprisonment in Caernarvon Castle, the Sheriff of Cheshire actually gave a public banquet to the prisoners, he was deservedly summoned to the Star Chamber, and fined for this contempt of the King's justice.

Bishop Williams had been under prosecution since 1627 for revealing the King's secrets; and a correspondence was discovered between him and Lawrence Osbaldistone, the Master of Westminster School, in which Laud was abused by the names of "the little urchin," and "the little meddling hocus-pocus." Williams was further accused of having embezzled the cathedral money as Dean of Westminster. This charge was not proved, and it was denied that the letter applied to the Archbishop; but there was evidently false swearing in the matter. The schoolmaster was sentenced to the pillory, but escaped. The

Williams's prosecution. 1637.

revealing of secrets was sworn to by four gentlemen, and Williams was imprisoned during the King's pleasure and fined. It would have been wiser in Laud to have abstained from taking any part in the prosecution of Williams, being known to be at enmity with him; but he knew the Bishop of Lincoln to be a mischievous intriguer, exceedingly clever, and his eager desire to prevent the affair from failing led him on. Few good men have been more hated than William Laud, yet a good man he was, and his errors arose from want of tact, from zeal and impetuosity, which gave an opportunity to his enemies, and prevented his high and noble aims from being understood. But for Laud's being raised up, the English Church would have sunk into mere Puritanism and forgotten her Catholicity. Nor could his work succeed save through present failure and martyrdom. He and Wentworth were alike "thorough," and they paid for it with their lives.

CAMEO XXIV.

THE REIGN OF RICHELIEU.

(1634—1638.)

England.	*Germany.*	*France.*
625. Charles I.	1619. Ferdinand II.	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1637. Ferdinand III.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXIV.

French despotism.

THERE can be little doubt that the condition of France greatly stimulated the English dislike to "thorough." There they saw an ecclesiastic dominating the King, and trampling on the liberties of the country, and they took warning. It was true that no two men could be more unlike than William Laud and Armand de Richelieu. The first was a priest above all things, only touching State affairs in the interest of religion; the second was a statesman by nature, a priest by accident or abuse.

But the English saw an iron hand ruling, all popular representation suppressed, the remnants of it—the provincial parliaments—kept harshly from remonstrance, the nobility forced into uselessness, except as soldiers, a dreadful weight of taxation weighing down the people, and the royal prisons, the Bastille, the Castle of Vincennes, and other more distant ones, peopled with all who gave umbrage to the tyrant, even premature inventors, almost all committed simply on the royal authority in a *lettre de cachet*, or sealed letter. No wonder the English shuddered. Yet in judging of Richelieu we must take into account what was the state of things that he found. France had only had a few years under Henri IV. to recover from the horrible convulsions of her religious wars. The kingdom was a collection of old fiefs, each with a different constitution, and a parliament and a nobility all with varying privileges and jurisdiction, although for the most part these parliaments were nothing but law courts, except that their registration rendered a law valid in their own territory. The study of jurisprudence, however, and the exercise of the functions of judges had trained the magisterial functionaries of these parliaments into greater conscientiousness and public spirit than was to be found elsewhere in France, in spite of the

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Men of the sword and the robe. 1633.

pernicious custom by which a father might secure the reversion of his office to his son by the payment of a fixed sum to the Government. This, having been invented by one M. Paulette, was known by his name, and was a regular source of revenue. Still, there was much independence and uprightness of spirit among these magistrates, and they sometimes attempted to resist the registration of edicts or imposition of taxes which they disapproved; but all in vain, it was only to be crushed by the stern will of the Ministry.

The nobility never dreamt of making common cause with them. The *gens de la robe* were hateful to the *gens de l'épée*, whose violence they had at times to restrain, and whose breaches of the law they judged. Taxation, and all the horrible burthens of the country, did not touch the nobles. They paid nothing, nor did the clergy, except as a benevolence, the theory being that the nobles served the country with their swords, the clergy with their prayers, and, therefore, the nobles were exempt. Not merely the head of the family, but his descendants to the latest generation, not only the *pair de France*, but the smallest provincial who, in England, would have been an esquire, known by his simple surname, but in France bore the title of his estate, and was commonly classed as a *hobereau*, or kite, a bird of prey to all beneath him. The bourgeois, though heavily laden with imposts, taxes, and customs, were not so much oppressed as the miserable peasantry, who not only had to pay to the King, and the dues of the Church, to work on the public roads, and lend their horses for the royal service; but were besides fleeced by their feudal lords, who held, like their forefathers, that Jacques Bonhomme was created simply to serve them and provide them with means for their extravagance.

Lawless beyond all measure had these nobles become—dangerous alike to the State and to each other. Their chief leaders had been, some crushed, some fascinated, some pensioned by Henri IV., but with his death, all had broken loose again; and nothing but the firmest of hands could have kept them within bounds. Therefore Richelieu caused judgment to be without mercy, and filled the prisons —the Bastille, Vincennes, Nantes, and all the royal castles—with men and women who might be dangerous to the State. Others he attached to the Court, in the way Sully had invented, by a multitude of offices about the royal person, with pensions attached to them—pensions wrung from the bourgeois and the peasant. Moreover, all Church patronage being in the hands of the Crown, he could offer any amount of bishoprics or abbeys to provide for the younger children of noble or magistrate alike.

The persons whose rank would have made them leaders of the nation, were incapable, mischievous, or both. Marie de Medici, Gaston of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, were equally unworthy and incapable, their sole idea being to amass money for themselves or their favourites. Only their exile or suppression could save the kingdom.

CAMEO XXIV.

The Dukes of Orleans. 1634.

Anarchy or Richelieu was the only choice, and the Cardinal had to bear the obloquy of having led the King to drive away his mother and brother.

The King, continually suffering from ill-health, led a dull and dreary life. The Cardinal dreaded his attaching himself to any noble, lest an intrigue might be hatched to overthrow the ministry, but there seemed less danger in female favourites.

Marie de Hautefort, beautiful, brilliant, and witty, amused and charmed the King, in perfect innocence, and was equally loved and trusted by the Queen. She was a really good woman, and thought it her duty to endeavour to bring the King and his wife together, and to reconcile Louis to his family. Anne of Austria naturally longed to write to her brothers, the King of Spain and the Cardinal in the Low Countries, and this could only be done secretly. Richelieu, fearing a reconciliation with the Queen might take place, accused Mdlle. de Hautefort of fostering dangerous correspondence, and she was separated for a time from the King.

In 1634 Gaston, getting tired of banishment, suddenly left Brussels, without telling his wife, Marguerite of Lorraine, and appeared at Paris, where his brother received him as if nothing had happened, and the Cardinal arranged a course of splendid banquets; but, at the same time, he insisted that Gaston's marriage should be declared null because it had been celebrated without the consent of the Crown. Two doctors of the Sorbonne, three Jesuits, Père Joseph, and Giulio Mazarini, the Pope's Nuncio, all were set to argue with the Duke, but for once he was resolute, and maintained that his marriage was real. However, Anne Marie, the child of his first marriage with the heiress of Montpensier, though nearly nine years old, had only been privately baptized, and the ceremonial admission into the Church was to be completed with the Cardinal for her godfather.

If we did not know it on the authority of one of the persons concerned, it would be hardly credible that the young Abbé Jean François de Gondi, a son of the Duke of Retz, and once a pupil of St. Vincent de Paul, now only twenty-two years of age, conspired with his cousin, M. de Rochefort, and with the consent of the Duke they undertook to murder the Cardinal in the midst of the ceremony. However, probably the Duke's conscience spoke, or his nerves failed him, for on some excuse the christening was put off, and the Duke retired to Blois, with his favourite, Puy Laurens.

The Cardinal offered this nobleman a marshal's staff and a rich marriage if he could induce Monsieur to consent to the dissolution of his marriage, which was obnoxious because of the connection of the Duke of Lorraine with the Spaniards. Puy Laurens stood firm, and Spanish correspondence was suspected. He was safe when with his master at Blois, but he was invited to dance in a court ballet during the carnival of 1635, pounced upon and shut up at Vincennes. Gaston vainly pleaded for his restoration, but he died in confinement there.

CAMPO XXIV.
St. Cyran.
1635.

A representative assembly of the Church of France was convoked, and under the Cardinal's dictation, annulled the marriage; but one man, Jean Vergier de Hauranne, a priest from Poitiers, better known by his title as Abbot of St. Cyran, the confessor of the nuns of Port Royal, boldly declared that he would rather have killed ten men than have agreed to a resolution "ruining one of the sacraments of the church." Nor could the Pope, Urban VIII., be persuaded to truckle to the French power; and in 1637 the Cardinal—defeated for once—had to acknowledge Marguerite of Lorraine as lawfully Duchess of Orleans. She was a fat, dull, complacent person, as disappointing a heroine of romance as Charlotte of Montmorency.

St. Cyran was a man of great piety, ability, and originality, the first confessor who had fully satisfied Mère Angélique. The Cardinal disliked him both for his boldness of speech, and for his repeated refusal of preferment intended to bind him to Richelieu's service. He had also affronted the Cardinal, and the various monastic orders, by the part he took in a controversy stirred up by Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus*, who had been sent with Queen Henrietta to take charge of the English Romanists, and who had insisted that no priest among them should hear confessions without a licence from him. The religious orders held themselves privileged to dispense with the Episcopal licence, and there was a hot controversy, in the course of which St. Cyran published a book taking the part of the Bishops; and further, in defining what was true repentance, disagreeing with a Catechism drawn up by Richelieu for his own diocese of Luçon. This Catechism declared that the sinner might be saved by *attrition*, namely, just enough fear of the consequences to drive him to penance and absolution. St. Cyran declared nothing to avail but contrition, or deep repentance and heartfelt sorrow for the sin against God. However, a greater offence was yet to come. St. Cyran had a friend, with whom he had been educated at the University of Lorraine, and with whom he had read deeply of the Scriptures and the Fathers, namely, a Fleming, Cornelius Jansen, who, indignant at Richelieu's alliance with the Swedes and German Protestants, published an attack on the irreligion of the French policy entitled *Mars Gallicus*.

The King of Spain rewarded Jansen with the Bishopric of Ypres, but in France, because St. Cyran was the friend of the author, he was seized by order of the King, *i.e.* of Richelieu, and thrown into prison at Vincennes, while all the gentlemen of the hermitages about Port Royal aux Champs were dispersed.

St. Cyran endured his captivity with the utmost patience and sweetness towards both guards and fellow prisoners. Once, observing a lady and gentleman to be very shabbily dressed, he disposed of some of his beloved books in order to procure clothing for them, writing that the garments were to be "handsome, and in the fashion, as becomes their rank, that, looking on one another they may forget that they are prisoners."

CAMEO XXIV.
—
Mademoiselle de la Fayette.
1638.

All manner of people were examined in order to prove heresy in his teaching, but in vain, except that he had said something disparaging of the Council of Trent. St. Vincent de Paul supplicated for his liberty, but Richelieu answered, "I tell you this man is more dangerous than ten armies. If Luther and Calvin had been imprisoned in good time, Germany and all France would have been Catholic now!"

And as St. Cyran refused to modify his opinions, he remained in prison, while his friend Singlin ministered to the ladies of Port Royal.

The King had by this time taken a fancy to another maid of honour, Louise de la Fayette, a beautiful girl of seventeen, less clever than Mdlle. de Hautefort, but with more sweetness. She was equally good and conscientious, and had the same desire to bring the husband and wife together, so that Richelieu soon thought her dangerous. However, she had had an inclination to the monastic life as a child, and was always reproaching herself with not attending to her true vocation. The Cardinal took care these scruples should be enhanced, though Père Caussin, her own confessor, thought she was doing more good at large. At last, Louis said, "I will not hinder her vocation. Only let her wait till I go to join the army."

She would not, however, wait. As his carriage drove out of the court that very day, she stood at the window and sighed, "I shall see him no more!" and at once repaired to the Convent of the Visitation, where she assumed the name of Angélique.

However, she saw the King again and again, he spent hours leaning against the parlour grille, talking to her, so that Richelieu became alarmed, and recalled Mademoiselle de Hautefort.

This lady was able to render the Queen a great service. Anne kept up a secret correspondence with her two brothers, Philip IV. and the Cardinal Infant in the Low Countries, by means of Madame de Chevreuse, and of a servant of the Queen, called Laporte, termed cloak-bearer or *portemanteau*. The lady, already noted for her intrigues, was in exile from the Court in Touraine, but the servant was arrested while carrying a letter to her from the Queen. On this, he was thrown into the Bastille, and the tidings coming to his mistress, who was with the King at Chantilly, she was greatly alarmed as to what he might confess, and hoped to hinder his examination by making a solemn oath before Père Caussin that she had never written secret letters to foreign countries, especially Spain and the Low Countries.

Richelieu sent her word that he was too well informed to believe her; and she then sent for him, and on his promise that the King would forget whatever she had done, she made a half confession. Marie de Hautefort volunteered to put on the disguise of a maid-servant, and to penetrate into the Bastille, where her friend, the Chevalier de Jars, although a prisoner, was able to procure an interview for her with the *portemanteau*, in which she gave him a letter

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The vow of Louis XIII. 1638.

telling him exactly how much to confess. The Abbess of Val de Grâce, being devoted to Anne, who spent much time in the convent, likewise burnt everything compromising before the Chancellor arrived to search Her Majesty's private apartments. Madame de Chevreuse escaped to Spain, and as nothing treasonable had come to light, the Cardinal brought the Queen an act of oblivion signed by the King, and actually made the royal pair embrace in his presence!

He had the Queen so much in his power that he ventured to try to bring her to be on closer terms with the King, and both the Demoiselle de Hautefort, as well as the confessor, the Jesuit Père Caussin, likewise strove to unite the husband and wife.

They made another effort, as a matter of conscience, namely, to get rid of Richelieu, whose policy they hated and disapproved. Louis used to spend hours before the grating of the parlour at the Convent of the Visitation, where Sœur Angélique spoke so severely of the indolence and indifference which made him submit to the rule of the Cardinal, that one day he turned his back on her, and went away affronted; but afterwards he repented, and sent her word by Père Caussin that he did not disapprove of her boldness. The confessor himself had long conversations with the King, after which it was observed that Louis was in lower spirits than ever. When four months had passed in this struggle, on the 8th of December, Caussin, when about to hear the King's confession, made a serious appeal to his conscience against his minister's whole policy, the alliances with the Turk and the Protestant, the oppression of the nation, the ill-treatment of the Queen mother. How far Louis seemed to be moved is unknown. Most likely he assented to everything, but what is quite certain is, that after he had seen his master, the Cardinal, the next morning, a *lettre de cachet* was put into the hands of Père Caussin containing a sentence of exile to Rennes, the King's expeditions to the Convent of the Visitation ceased, and of the party Mademoiselle de Hautefort alone remained in favour.

It was soon after this that hopes arose of a direct heir to the crown, full twenty years after the marriage of the King and Queen. The prospect of the succession of Gaston of Orleans had been so distasteful that there was universal transport. The King, in token of gratitude, put out letters patent on the 10th of February, 1638, in which he adopted the Holy and Glorious Virgin as the special protectress of his kingdom, consecrating to her his person, his kingdom, crown, and subjects. This was called the "Vow of Louis XIII."

It was remembered that the Queen had lately been on pilgrimage to Meaux, to the shrine of St. Fiachra, or Fiacre, that Scottish saint who was supposed to have revenged on Henry V. the plunder of his Church by the English. In consequence St. Fiacre became the fashion, and people flocked on pilgrimage to Meaux, very comfortably in hired carriages, which thence took the name they have ever since borne, of *fiacres*. The verses and compliments that flowed in were in vast numbers. Even little Jacqueline Pascal, the child of the President of

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—
Birth of Louis XIV. 1638.

the Board of Excise at Clermont, at nine years old, improvised a little poem, which was much admired. Jacqueline and her brother Blaise were indeed children of extraordinary abilities. It was about this time that the boy was found lying on the garret floor, tracing mathematical figures with chalk, and working out the facts as to their relations without having ever seen Euclid's Elements, or knowing the proper names of lines and circles, but calling them bars and rounds. He had, however, had some instruction in the first elements of mathematics.

On the 5th of September, 1638, was born Louis the prince, who like Philippe Auguste of old, was welcomed as *Dieudonné*. The Cardinal, about the same time, lost his most trusted friend and adviser Père Joseph. So much influence had Joseph possessed, that he was called "*Son Eminence Grise*," as Richelieu was "*Son Eminence Rouge*." He was sharp and brusque in manner, while the Cardinal, with the dignified politeness of a French noble, had a terrible irony, which was greatly dreaded. But they agreed and worked together perfectly, and Joseph was the person chiefly loved and trusted in the world by the Cardinal, who visited his friend constantly, tended him during his illness, and bewailed him with the exclamation, "I have lost my right hand."

The Nuncio, Giulio Mazarini, was induced to quit the Pope's service, and became Richelieu's chief assistant, becoming thoroughly imbued with his policy of aggrandizing France and rendering the Crown despotic.

Meantime Richelieu thought it time to detach the King from Marie de Hautefort, whom he knew to be his enemy, and who was not to be bought over, as she was resolved on asking no favours for herself, nor any one belonging to her. The King seemed pleased with a youth of nineteen, the Marquis de Cinq Mars, the eldest son of Marshal d'Effien, and Richelieu asked him to consent to Mdlle. de Hautefort's leaving the Court for a fortnight. "The fortnight will last my life," she said, and she was right. Orders came that she was to remain in exile at Mans, and she never saw the King again. She was always much respected; she was one of the foremost ladies in the literary court held at the Hotel de Rambouillet, and was also one of the favoured dames who boarded at times at Port Royal, and were intimate with the saintly Mère Angélique. She finally married Marshal Schomberg.

The Hotel de Rambouillet was a remarkable feature in Paris at this period. Charles d'Argennes, Duke de Rambouillet, was a rich and fairly influential nobleman of the class who had grown up to replace the older race, and had married Catherine de Vivonne, one of the ablest and handsomest women of her day, and likewise one of the best. She was for many years the undoubted queen of society at Paris. Her house, the Hotel de Rambouillet, in the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre, was the resort of all that was most distinguished in France. She had the true Frenchwoman's art of keeping all harmonious, interested and amused, and she also had a certain Italian grace inherited from her mother, which gave a chivalrous and poetical air to all around her, while she

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—
The Salon Bleu.

had the skill and taste to steer clear of all such political affairs as could give umbrage even to the jealous Richelieu. For twenty or thirty years, nothing was admired which had not received the stamp of approval of the divine Arthenice, as her circle called her, transposing the letters of her Christian name. Her daughter, Julie d'Argennes, shared her power, and was equally beautiful, graceful, and intellectual. Julie remained unmarried much later than was usual. Her hand was sought by the Duke of Montausier, to whom she was much attached, but he was a Huguenot, and she would not wed outside her Church, while he held it dishonourable to renounce his religion except from conviction, so he remained a constant visitor at the Hotel till Julie was past her first youth, when he finally felt that he could renounce Calvinism and obtain his bride. After her marriage, she still continued to be the most brilliant ornament of "the Salon Bleu," as her mother's chief reception room was called.

Mother and daughter made a worthy use of their supremacy. They were religious and conscientious women, though not what was technically called "*dévote*," and they set themselves by the influence of their taste and good breeding to no less a task than to purify French manners, language, and literature. Coarseness had hitherto gone along with wit and poetry. François I., Catherine de Medici, and Henri IV, had all revelled in grossness and evil allusion, and the wittiest works of their times—even when well-intentioned—are unreadable, while the conduct of men and women of the highest rank was rude, violent, and licentious.

The Spanish dignity of Anne of Austria, and the cold reserve of the King, had made the Court more correct; but it was at the Hotel de Rambouillet that the visitors learnt the grand, graceful politeness that became the characteristic of high French society, and so continued long after the real principle that lay beneath the manners of Hotel de Rambouillet had died away. The impure and immoral were banished, and when poetry and plays were read aloud in the Salon Bleu, a vigilant censorship was kept up, and so delicately exercised that there was no revolt against it. Words were rejected, not merely for impropriety but for inelegance and provincialism. They were debated and criticised with both taste and erudition, though the judgment on them was sometimes narrow and exclusive, weakening the language in power of expression, but also refining it, and the French of the Hotel de Rambouillet remained that of all educated people until the present half-century. Men of letters were made as welcome as the nobility. Corneille recited his tragedies there; Voiture was the tame poet of the house; Madame de Scudéry brought fragments of her interminable romances; and here a young Abbé, Benigne Bossuet, was called on, from the college of Navarre, half in jest, to display his powers of extemporisation. A velvet bag was carried round the assembly by Voiture. Every one put in a text. The young preacher drew one out at haphazard. It was "*Vanitas vanitatum.*" The midnight sermon was a solemn one, and sent away the gay assembly thrilled with awe.

CAMEO XXIV.

The French Academy. 1637.

Literature was rapidly improving, and the period was beginning to which the new-born Dauphin was destined to give the title "*Le Siècle de Louis Quatorze.*" The "*Académie Française,*" the institution which has ever since been the supreme authority in its own country in matters of taste, science, and literature, was starting into existence. The poet Ronsard and a party of friends began by forming a kind of club, called at first the "Pleiad," then the "Brigade," which met weekly at the house of one of them, Courart, in the Rue St. Martin, to discuss any subject of interest, or talk over new books, or works in which either was engaged. M. de Bois Robert, who was half spy, half newsmonger to the Cardinal, discovered these meetings and requested admittance. It spoilt their freedom, but to open their doors to him was the only way of proving that they were more concerned with the politics of ancient Athens than of modern France, and they made themselves so agreeable that Bois Robert reported of them enthusiastically to his master, who asked if they could not form themselves into a regular body for the encouragement of "*belles-lettres,*" to be incorporated by Royal Charter.

They did not like the proposition at all, for it would destroy all the spirit and liberty of their easy intercourse, and were much inclined to refuse, but M. Chapelain declared that they had to deal with a man "*qui ne voulait pas médiocrément ce qu'il voulait,*" and since their society had become an avowed matter, they had no choice but to submit, or to suffer for it. So they consented, and expressed themselves highly gratified when the Cardinal announced that he meant to be the father and protector of the society. It took the title of *Académie,* in honour of the Academy, or open-air debating school of Athens, but the Parliament would not, at first, register the royal letters patent for it. The fact was, that everything new was distrusted, and especially what emanated from the Cardinal. A person about to purchase a house in the same street, broke off his bargain because he was afraid of the *Monopoleurs,* the word then in vogue for conspirators.

At length, in 1637, the charter of the Academy was forced through the Parliament, and its council consisted of forty members. They immediately commenced a dictionary of the French language, which continued to be the great standard work until the license of the present day has not only imported new words, but changed the idioms. Ever since this time, to be crowned by the Academy has been the supreme honour of a French work, to become a member the greatest glory of an author. The Augustan age of literature was dawning—not yet developed. Only the first of the great dramatists had as yet come forward, Pierre Corneille, and his first really able and characteristic tragedy, the *Cid,* though rapturously applauded by the public, was condemned by the Academy under strong pressure from the Cardinal, who was displeased at Spanish chivalry having been brought forward. He had actually produced a tragedy himself, but all the awe he inspired could not make the public endure it. "Ah," he said, "I always knew that the French had no taste." However, Corneille continued to receive a pension, and

CAMEO XXIV.
—
Corneille

the Cardinal, finding public opinion too strong for him or the Academy, allowed the *Cid* to be dedicated to his favourite niece, the Duchess of Aiguillon. Afterwards Corneille wrote a tragedy called *Polyeucte*, founded on a legend of primitive Christian martyrdom, and read it at the Hotel Rambouillet, where the religious were delighted, but some of the ecclesiastics present deemed that a scene where idols were overthown savoured of Protestantism, and the idlers thought the piece too Christian!

In general, however, the world believed itself religious, and there was no doubt, much genuine earnestness. Vincent de Paul was in full activity, and had stirred the clergy into far greater spirituality than had been their ideal since the days of St. Bernard; seminaries for their training had been founded, retreats and missions set on foot, the *Sœurs de Charité* had begun their work, the Order of the Visitation attracted the ladies weary of Court intrigue, and Port Royal offered a graver and severer form of Christian life.

CAMEO XXV.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

(1633—1638.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1637. Ferdinand III.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXV.

Charles's first visit to Scotland. 1633.

KING CHARLES, though born in Scotland, had not set foot in the country since he was removed from it in his sickly childhood. It was high time that he should there receive the crown of his forefathers, and become acquainted with the country. He therefore set forth in the summer of 1633, with a brilliant suite of 150 persons, including Bishop Laud, who had arranged his previous coronation.

The daily service after the English use was carried on in Holyrood Chapel, and did not excite so many open murmurs as when James I. had last been in Scotland, whence the King argued that there was more hope of introducing the Prayer-book throughout the country. He did not hear the comments of the people of Edinburgh, who held that the rochet and surplice smelt of Popery. The years of peace and of traffic with England had enriched Scotland, and the nobles and gentlemen who flocked to pay their court to the King were handsomely equipped, often to an extent they could hardly afford.

The coronation was the most magnificent ever seen in Scotland, where indeed a full-grown monarch had not been crowned since the return of the first James Stuart. It took place in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, with the same ceremonies as at Westminster, and as far as possible the same decorations, Archbishop Spottiswoode officiated, with three other Bishops in white rochets and sleeves, and copes of gold and blue, such as English Bishops always wore at coronations. The other Bishops merely wore black gowns, and Laud indignantly thrust aside the Archbishop of Glasgow from the King's left hand, saying, "Are you a Churchman, and want the coat of your order?"

It was the misfortune of Laud, that being only a tradesman's son, he had none of that gentle breeding which makes courtesy second nature,

CAMD. XXV.

Church lands in Scotland. 1633.

and he had besides a quick temper, and thus he often gave offence where he was in the right, and tact and consideration might have made him better understood. Yet it was said that a sermon which he preached at Edinburgh had so good an effect, that if the Prayer-book had been then introduced, little opposition would have been made. There was, however, another question very seriously affecting the condition of the clergy, namely the matter of property, which had been seized at the destruction of the old Scottish Church—not merely the lands, but the tithes, or, as they were called in Scotch, teinds. The nobles—when royal power was a nonentity—had granted all these revenues among themselves, undertaking to maintain the clergy. It resulted in the laird exacting the uttermost penny of the tithe, and giving the poor minister the smallest possible share.

James I. had, by private negotiation with the houses of Hamilton and Lennox, and by resigning the small amount which had accrued to the Crown, been able in some sort to endow the two Archbishoprics, and Charles had already, in 1628, sent the Earl of Nithsdale to endeavour to make some arrangement for further restitution, but the Scottish Lords and Lairds had no notion of yielding. They met at Edinburgh and agreed that if there were no other mode of making Nithsdale abandon the project they would fall on him and his supporters in the old Scottish fashion, and knock them on the head. One of them, a blind old man, a Douglas, Lord of Belhaven, bade them set him by one of the party and he would make sure of him.

So when the conference took place, the old savage kept a dagger in one hand, while with the other he gripped fast the Earl of Dumfries, making an excuse of his blindness, and holding himself ready for a fatal stab on the first disturbance. Altogether the aspect of affairs was so perilous that Lord Nithsdale returned without explaining his mission.

However, as the King was out of reach in England, and continued to insist, bringing an action against the holders of all Church property as having accepted it from the Crown, when the Crown had no power or right to give it away, it came to be understood that they would lose all unless they would accept a composition; and finally, after much labour on the part of the "Commissioners of Teinds," as they were called, the final arrangement was made, by which a fair maintenance, according to the ideas of the time, was secured to the parochial clergy; schools were also to be maintained by a sum assessed on each parish, and tithes, a fifth part of the land rent, were to be paid in money instead of kind. Where the amount in a parish exceeded the requirements of the minister, part went to a fund for the maintenance of universities, schools and hospitals, and the rest was retained by the impropriator who had held it before.

This was agreed to by the Scottish Parliament, or Estates, held at the King's visit in 1633, though not without much discontent on the part of the lairds, for though the arrangement was really equitable, they

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Petition of the Scots Lords. 1634.

not only lost by it, but imagined that it was the prelude to the restoration of the hierarchy in all its splendour. Even the ministers, who profited so much by it, dreaded to see the exaltation of Bishops. The Scots in general murmured when an episcopal see in Edinburgh was created, and they were greatly displeased with the constitution of the acting Committee of Estates, called the Lords of the Articles, consisting of eight Bishops as well as eight secular nobles. As there were only twelve Bishops to choose from, and sixty temporal peers, the turn of each prelate necessarily would come much more often than that of the nobles and they would thus acquire a great preponderance of influence.

The nobles drew up a supplication against this, and much besides, which they rather apprehended than beheld. It was drawn up by Haig, of Bemerside, and given to Lord Balmerinoch, who handed it on to the Earl of Rothes to be presented to the King.

Now the King had forbidden his attendants to bring him insolent or unbecoming petitions, and Rothes thought this one might be so viewed, so he told the King he had a supplication in his pocket, which he had suppressed according to order. Would his Majesty be pleased to look at it. To this the King said he had no time to look at it; but the general aspect of affairs made him delay the introduction of the Liturgy, thinking indeed that opposition to what was peculiarly English might be prevented by giving time to draw up a national Prayer-book.

The King sent orders back to Scotland that the Bishops should provide themselves with a rochet and sleeves, and thus appear in church, and that inferior clergy should wear the surplice. At the same time, a prosecution was commenced against Lord Balmerinoch for the supplication which was treated as "leasing making" or a political libel. Haig of Bemerside had escaped to Holland, so that all fell upon his co-adjutor, Balmerinoch. There was a very long trial, protracted by pleadings on both sides, and at last the prisoner was convicted, whereupon Charles pardoned him, but the whole prosecution had been a foolish blunder, and did much harm.

The great work and object all this time was the preparation of a Liturgy for Scotland. All prayer there was not extemporary. A service had been drawn up by Calvin, and translated or imitated, which was in use in many of the Scottish congregations, varied in such places as the minister thought fit. It was called the Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy, and there is reason to think that James and the Scottish Bishops had considered of modifying it, but had abandoned the attempt, nor had the Church any Canons at all.

The Canons were drawn up by the Scottish Bishops and submitted to Laud and Juxon for revision. They were reverent, sober-minded, and excellent; but they were far too Catholic-spirited for the Scottish temper. Moreover, there was this reasonable cause for displeasure, that instead of being, like the English Canons, accepted in Convocation, they came entirely from the King and the Bishops, the Presbytery having no share in them. This gave a certain sense that they were

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Scottish Prayer-book, 1637.

arbitrarily imposed, which made it doubly unfortunate that they were set forth before the Prayer-book which was to have accompanied them was ready.

There was thus more time for the force of opposition to gather, and the parish clergy had been offended at there being no notice taken of their General Assembly, nor any consent of theirs being asked. The Prayer-book itself was intended by Charles, Laud, and some of the Scottish Bishops, to vary just enough from the English Prayer-book to be National, yet to be uniform in all essentials. Presbyter was substituted for its contraction, priest, to gratify the Scots, but most of the alterations consisted in more definite rubrics, such as English laxity had shown to be needful, and in more Catholic restorations, especially in the Communion office. The signing with the cross was restored at Confirmation, and some of the Puritan work on the Prayer-book of 1552 was omitted. Henrietta Maria afterwards told Madame de Motteville that the King made her compare the Scottish Prayer-book with her missal, going over it with her himself, so as to show how truly Catholic the spirit was, in the hope of convincing her and winning her over. Imprudently, the book intended for churches was very handsomely printed, with red rubrics, ornamental headings and initials, and Scriptural illustrations, in ignorance or forgetfulness that the fanatical Calvinism of Scotland objected to any sort of sacred picture, and saw in these ornaments a studied resemblance to the illuminated Mass-books it abhorred. It was believed by the more prejudiced that the book was the outcome of an organised plot for bringing the whole of the two kingdoms back to Romanism; and the spirit of dislike to English dictation was thoroughly roused. The new Prayer-book was promised for Easter, 1637, but it was deferred till July. None of the clergy refused it, and the introduction, to all appearance, seemed about to pass off quietly, but a consultation was held between Alexander Henderson from Fife, and David Dick from the West. They then called on Sir Thomas Hope, the Lord Advocate, and Lord Balmerinoch, who had been prosecuted for the supplication; and meetings were held at the house of Nicolas Balfour in the Cowgate, with several women, three of whom are named, Elspat and Ballira Craig, and Euphame Henderson, who undertook to give the first affront to the book, after which men would take the business out of their hands. Sir Thomas Hope must have acted treacherously in giving no warning, and there were no tokens of displeasure when on the 16th of July notice was given that the new Prayer-book would be read on the ensuing Sunday.

All went quietly at the Cathedral of St. Giles's, the magistrates were there in state, also the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the Bishop of Edinburgh was to preach, till the Dean gave out the collect for the day. Then a woman, sitting on one of the folding or camp stools, on which the maids were wont to keep the place of their prayer-despising, sermon-loving ladies, burst out, "The deil collick the

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Riot at Edinburgh. 1637.

wame of thee!" and hurled her stool at his head. Tradition calls her Janet Geddes, a herb woman, but she is also said to have been a Mrs. Mean. Another woman struck a gentleman, who had just said Amen, in the face with her Bible, stools flew about the church, and there was shouting, clapping of hands, and a fearful hubbub. The Bishop ascended the pulpit and tried to quiet the people, but could not make himself heard. The magistrates drove out the rabble, and the service was concluded, while the mob continued to yell round the church and batter the doors. They made an onslaught on the Bishop of Edinburgh as he went home, and he was protected with difficulty. The same riotous resistance, chiefly by women, or boys disguised as such, was manifested at Glasgow and Brechin, and the temper of the cities was such, that at Edinburgh the Bishops thought well to suspend all religious services till the King's pleasure should be known. No one guessed, far less said to Charles, "this is not a revolt, it is a revolution." The sentiment was, as was said in the letter to the Council, "Will they cast down the milk because a few milkmaids have scolded?" and orders were sent to Scotland peremptorily enforcing the services; but these were answered by showers of petitions from the people, who had now been stirred into regarding the matter as national, although the clergy for the most part held perfectly quiet in the whole matter.

The extreme importance of all this was far from being understood, people in London were far more curious about the last news from Holland or Germany than from Scotland.

A strict order from the King in Council was sent off to enforce the use of the Service-book; but on the road the messengers met tidings that supplications signed by the whole country—men, women and children, were preparing to protest against the Service-book, of which most knew absolutely nothing but that it had been imposed on them from England, without their own consent, and was supposed to savour of Popery. The supplications professed all loyalty and obedience to the King, but protested against the Bishops, whom they accused of unlawfully imposing on them the Canons and Prayer-book. The Duke of Lennox, in passing through Edinburgh on his return from his mother's funeral, found the streets lined with people, the ministers on one side, the gentry on the other, there drawn up to make a demonstration, and no less than sixty-eight largely signed petitions were entrusted to him.

On the 17th of October came a sort of answer, namely, a proclamation that all persons not resident in Edinburgh should return home to their own business; another, removing the seat of the Council first to Linlithgow and then to Dumfries; and a third, condemning and calling in a book against "English Popish ceremonies."

The tidings roused to fury the mob of Edinburgh, including all the idlers who had been ordered home. The Bishop of Galloway was quietly walking along the street, when they fell on him with cries of "Papist loon!" "Jesuit loon!" and he fled for his life, happily assisted by

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—
Proclamation.
1637.

a gentleman who was near, into the Council house, which the roaring multitude besieged, Word was sent to the Provost and Magistrates, but they were too loyal to be popular, and they, too, were threatened, till they signed a paper promising to co-operate with the supplicants. The mob were drawn off by some of the men of higher rank of their own party, and the Council and magistracy did their best to obtain attention to the royal commands, but it was impossible to get rid of the strangers, who all discovered some lawful business requiring their presence in Edinburgh.

There had been no public worship all this time in the city, and with cries and tears the Council were entreated to open the Churches, without the English book, and they yielded for the present; but when another enormous petition was brought up to them, they refused to read or forward it, bidding the people wait for the answer to the former ones. They could not themselves obey the order to adjourn to Linlithgow without abandoning Edinburgh to the mob; and in their great desire to be rid of the disorderly rabble of strangers, they proposed that there should be chosen four persons to represent each order of the people, nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, who should form a committee to confer with them. These sixteen, recalling the *Seize* or sixteen Representative Leaguers of Paris, were known in Scotland as the Tables, or the Green Tables; and other Tables, in communication with them, were established all over the country. This had the present effect of sending the rioters to their homes; but thus was organised an opposition of the most powerful kind.

The King, meantime, was not half informed of the strength of the resistance. The Scotch gentlemen about him hushed up the matter as much as possible, and they were in large numbers. The Marquis of Hamilton was Master of the Horse, the Earl of Morton Captain of the Band of Pensioners, the Duke of Lennox Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir William Balfour Lieutenant of the Tower, besides numerous gentlemen ushers and gentlemen of the bed-chamber. These prevented true accounts from reaching Charles, and, moreover, some betrayed his plans as far as they could discover them, not scrupling to take his private papers from his clothes at night, especially an attendant named Murray, so that there is a letter extant from Archbishop Laud warning him to take care what he left in his pockets.

Traquair, the Treasurer of Scotland, was sent to London to give information to his countrymen and counsel to the King. He first assured the Scots that on their absolute submission, the Service-book would be withdrawn, and then concurred in advising the King to issue a proclamation exonerating the Bishops, taking all on himself, commanding the Scots to accept the book as a token of loyalty, promising pardon for the past, but threatening to deal with them as traitors if they continued to hold tumultuous assemblies.

Traquair made the tenor of this proclamation known to his countrymen in secret, before carrying it to Stirling, where the Council was then

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sitting. The plans were decided on. The Scots believed that a protestation would make the King's command of no effect, so when on the 19th of February the proclamation was to be made at the Market Cross of Stirling by the heralds, the Earls of Hume and Lindsay were ready with their protest, against all acts of Council made with the Bishops sitting upon it. The mob were in such a fury as to be ready to murder the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, but he was protected by the Earl of Rothes.

At Linlithgow there was the same scene. At Edinburgh not only was there the protestation, but the proclamation was hooted with jeers and laughter. A curious scene here took place. Among the protestors was James Graham, the young Earl of Montrose, who had lately returned from Italy, and who had been deterred from entering the King's service by the jealousy of the Marquis of Hamilton. To see better, he climbed on a puncheon which stood on the scaffold whence the proclamation was made. "Oh, James," said the Lord Rothes, "you will never rest till you be lifted there by three fathom of rope." The grim jest was remembered! At Aberdeen though the majority were loyal, still the protest was made.

The next step adopted by the Tables was what they called the Renewal of the Solemn League and Covenant. The original Covenant, or King's confession, as it was termed, had been made in 1581, when the Roman Catholic Church was the foe most dreaded, and the Pope "his worldly monarchy and wicked hierarchy, his three solemn vows, with all his shamlings of sundry sorts, his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, were abjured." James had signed it, and there really was nothing in it to denounce either the Liturgy or Episcopacy, and therefore a supplement was added, binding every one to continue in the religion established by the first, and to resist all corruptions and errors expressly the establishment of Bishops and the new Service-book. There were coupled the strongest expressions of loyalty to the descendant of a hundred and seven Kings.

The Covenant was read on the 1st of March, in the Cathedral, at Edinburgh, and greeted with shouts and cries of joy and exultation. Tables were set out in the Greyfriars Churchyard, and people of all ranks and ages flocked to sign the paper with a sort of passionate joy. The copies were dispersed all over the country, and signed by crowds with fervent enthusiasm, by many actually with their own blood; while those who were reluctant were forced by no gentle means to accept it. Sermons were preached in support of it, and were so sought after that to secure places the churches were often crammed from Friday to Sunday by crowds, who ate and slept there, without the slightest reverence or even decency.

The Primate and all the Bishops but four fled to England. Aberdeen, however, with city, church, and university, remained loyal, and the Highlands were still chiefly Roman Catholic, excepting the Campbells, the clan of Argyll. It was said that when Lord Lorne, the

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The Supplication sent off.
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heir of the family, had been summoned to London to give information, his father, the old Earl of Argyll, a Romanist, strongly advised the King not to let so dangerous a person go back to Scotland, but that Charles held himself bound in honour to let him freely return. Some nobles and many of the clergy, chiefly in Ayrshire, Dumfries, and Galloway, likewise refused to sign the Covenant, but they were hunted away by the people, and their places were filled by such men as Blair and Livingstone from the north of Ireland, who had been displaced by Lord Wentworth's vigorous measures. In a meeting held at Edinburgh of a hundred and twenty clergy, four-fifths were against the Covenant, so that it seems as if more time and patience and attention to the constitutional method of obtaining the public consent of the clergy might have disarmed suspicion and sense of arbitrary dictation, so as to have carried enough to educate the people in Church doctrine.

The great supplication was meantime sent to London by three nobles, who were not Covenanters, Lennox, Huntly, and Morton, but the Tables forbade them to open it unless the King would receive it, and the King would not look at it unless they could assure him that it conformed to his rules about petitions. In June the King decided on sending a commissioner to Scotland to arrange matters. His choice fell on the Marquis of Hamilton, the nearest heir, after the royal children, and the Palatine family, to the Scottish crown, and unfortunately a trusted friend of his own. It is impossible to judge of Hamilton's fidelity. The English loyal party greatly disliked and distrusted him, and thought him a thorough traitor, more especially as his mother was a strong Covenanter, and his sisters all married to Presbyterian nobles; and it is certain that he always had an unfortunate effect on the King's affairs. And yet Charles loved and trusted him to the last, and he evidently had a strong personal attachment to the King. It seems more likely that he was only a weak, unstable man, swayed now by love to the King, now by national impulse as a Scot, and actuated besides by clannish dislikes and jealousies to Montrose and the Grahams, Huntly and the Gordons, and Argyll and the Campbells. Obeying each impulse in turn, his whole behaviour had an uncertainty about it, which might well merit the contempt of more whole-hearted men. The Tables had decreed that no Covenanter should show their King's representative any respect, and forbade his own vassals to meet him at the Border or show him any honour, but on the other hand, two rows of Covenanters, 600 clergy, and 20,000 laity were drawn up on the way to Holyrood House.

When there, he spoke of having the English service in the chapel, but the covenanting lords declared that "he who durst read prayers there should never read more," and that a thousand men were ready to prevent it! When he told them in private consultation that they must give up the Covenant if they were to be reconciled with the King, they answered that they would sooner renounce their baptism. In fact, they were beginning to collect money for resistance, and they actually pre-

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Hamilton in Scotland. 1638.

vented the transfer of some arms and ammunition from a vessel at Leith to Edinburgh Castle.

Meantime they made their demands,—the abolition of the Court of High Commission, of the Canons and Service Book, a free Parliament, and a free General Assembly. Another proclamation at Edinburgh, and another protestation followed. Then the old Covenant with the King's signature, was put forth, and everybody was required to sign it; but to this the Tables refused consent. Hamilton tried in vain to convince the Scottish nobles of the King's disinclination to Popery, in fact, all the instances by which he hoped to prove to them Charles's piety, seemed to these haters of all form, reverence, or regularity in devotion to be so much papistry. A crazy woman named Mitchelson, was supposed to be inspired when she railed against the Old Covenant and praised the new one. She was taken to a good house in Edinburgh and lodged in the best bedchamber, which was crowded from morning to night with people listening to her ravings and prophecies from heaven. Contributions of money, from twenty-five dollars downwards, were paid by all ranks as a fund for resistance, and hosts of the veteran Scottish soldiers in the armies of Germany were subscribing to the Covenant and promising to bring home their skill and discipline to their own country in case of need. All this was held to be religion, and there was certainly some honest Calvinistic dread of formalism and distrust of Church doctrine at the core, but much more was blind prejudice against the supposed relapse into Popish practices, and what gave passion to the whole was national hatred to English dictation, stirred up to a height by proprietors who dreaded to be made further to disgorge Church property. It is to be remembered likewise that Romanism had been at its very worst in Scotland, and that the traditions of Bishops and abbots were often of dissolute and rapacious men of blood.

Hamilton, after many consultations with the King, all of which were betrayed to the Covenanters, convoked a General Assembly to meet in the grand old Cathedral of St. Mungo at Glasgow. Orders were issued by the King that the delegates sent by each Presbytery should be chosen by the clergy alone, but the Covenanters, disregarding this, sent with each minister an elder with equal powers of voting, and as the ministers put forward did not vote for themselves, the elders, who were all Covenanters, were sure of carrying their candidate. Moreover, all ministers "erroneous in doctrine or scandalous in life" were by order of "the Tables" rejected, and by a liberal interpretation this was made to exclude all the ministers who had not signed the Covenant, or who had been willing to use the Service Book. As to the Bishops, who had of course a right to sit there, the cunning lawyers who managed the tactics of the Tables, decided to disqualify them, by calling them to answer before the Assembly for charges laid against them. Lord Rothes applied to Hamilton for a warrant, but he refused one, whereupon the Presbytery of Edinburgh cited all the fourteen Bishops to appear at the Bar of the Assembly to answer for an array of horrible

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General Assembly at Glasgow. 1638.

crimes that must have been gleaned from the lives of the worst Scottish pre-reformation Bishops, to which was added suspicion of Arminianism, Popery and card-playing. The Marquis of Hamilton sent strict orders that this abominable calumny should not be published, but the plan had been kept so secret that the command did not come till the citation had been read in all the kirks in Edinburgh.

A throne with a canopy was erected for the Marquis, and along the whole length of the nave ran a table with seats for the seventeen peers, and the numerous lords of baronies who attended, the ministers sitting in tiers on benches rising behind them. Among these peers was James Graham, Earl of Montrose, and among the Assessors assisting Hamilton was Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, who had just succeeded his father in the title and estates. The Moderator was Alexander Henderson, "a moderator without moderation," as Archbishop Laud called him, and the clerk, Johnstone of Warriston. These were the two men who had devised the additions to the Covenant, and were the very soul of the Tables.

The numbers were about 260, and it was noticed that no one wore a clerical gown, and there was a tumultuous throng of outsiders through whom it was very hard to make way, in so much that Principal Baillie declared in his letters, "We might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, yea, from the Turks, or Pagans, modesty and manners. Our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they offered the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content till they were down stairs." Some time was spent in legal questions over the elections; but on the 28th of November, when measures were about to be taken against the Bishops, Hamilton, in the name of the King, withdrew all sanctions from the Assembly, first, on account of the illegal manner of the elections, and secondly, on that of the exclusion of the Bishops and the proceedings against them. At the Market Cross, there was a proclamation read, breaking up the Assembly, and ordering all to repair to their homes; but the protestation instantly followed, and though the Marquis withdrew, the Assembly went on as before, with the co-operation of the Assessors.

The Assessors remained, and Argyll became a species of President. The first thing done in the Assembly which, being dissolved by the King, had become entirely illegal, was to annul all Acts passed since 1606, including the Articles of Perth. Then the Prayer-book and the Canons were condemned, and there followed what was called the trial of the Bishops. Lists of crimes to be made out against them were sent to their several dioceses, not merely the doctrinal differences and the "being agents of Canterbury," which might reasonably be expected from these virtuous and dignified clergymen, "bowing to the altar, wearing the rochet, consecrating churches," but outrageous crimes against all the commandments. Swearing was alleged against them, which seems to have consisted of such expletives as "on my soul," and

CAMEO XXV. — *Overthrow of the Bishops in Scotland.* 1638.

"on my honour." Sabbath-breaking was a regular charge, probably because they travelled to different churches on Sundays, and also because they either accepted, or were supposed to accept, the *Book of Sports*. Also some were said to have tolerated "dances of naked women," most likely ladies dressed in the prevailing court fashion, which left the upper part of the neck bare. Far worse and more horrid crimes were mentioned as matters of course in all the indictments, including murder and adultery. Surely these Scottish Bishops belonged to those of whom all manner of evil is falsely spoken! There was no defence. Several were in England, and none acknowledged the authority of the Assembly. Six were deposed, the other eight, who were more obnoxious to the Covenanters, were both deposed and excommunicated.

The Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, and Argyll submitted, abjured their consecration, and were content to act as Presbyterian ministers, "not respected on either side." They had been accused like their brethren of frightful guilt, but on their submission, no more inquiry was made, and such acceptance was a virtual acquittal of all the rest. Spottiswoode, the Archbishop, died the next year, in 1639, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Lindsay, the other Archbishop, and four more died at different times in England. Maxwell, of Ross, an able and active man, received the Irish Bishopric of Killala, but had to flee for his life from the Romanist rebellion. He joined the King at Oxford, and was appointed Archbishop of Tuam, in 1645, but two years later was found dead on his knees in his closet. Guthrie, of Moray, who had been "the first to put on his sleeves," alone remained staunchly at his post, though fined, imprisoned, and harassed, until the brave old man was worn out, and died at Angus. Sysderf, of Galloway, during the English troubles, retreated to France, and exercised his episcopal office in the house of Sir Richard Browne, the English ambassador at Paris. He was the only one of all the fourteen who lived to return to his see, at the return of Charles II., and to form a link between the first and second *restorations* of the Scottish Church.

The priests who were no Covenanters were treated in the same manner. Mr. Thomas Foster, of Melrose, had declared the Service-book better than preaching, had, with his own hands, made his altar and rails, and administered the Holy Communion to his people on their knees, and affirmed our Reformers to have brought more damage to the Church in one age than the Pope and his faction in a thousand years. "This monster was justly deposed."

The same clearance took place among the Divinity Professors at the Universities, and the Assembly broke up on the 20th of December, 1638, but with the determination that Aberdeen, the great old University city, should be forced into the Covenant. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, and the Earl of Montrose were sent off to insist that the Covenant should be signed.

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Aberdeen forced into the Covenant. 1639.

All strangers were welcomed at Aberdeen with a banquet of wine called the "cup of bon accord," but the visitors refused to drink with them till the Covenant should be signed, an insult never offered to the folk of Aberdeen in the memory of man! They gave out that they should preach in the city pulpits, but the proper owners of these occupied them themselves. However, the three ministers preached in the open air on galleries in front of Earl Marischal's house, and were listened to with curiosity rather than conviction. A war of pamphlets then began, but little was done to bring over the city or university, and it began to be felt that the dispute must lead to bloodshed.

CAMEO XXVI.

THE SMOULDERINGS OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR.

(1634—1649.)

England.
1625. Charles I.

Germany.
1637. Ferdinand III.

France.
1610. Louis XIII.

Spain.
1621. Philip IV.

Rome.
1623. Urban VIII.

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German Captains.

MOST of the dramatic interest of the Thirty Years War passed with Gustavus and Wallenstein, but its weary course was not yet run, Bernhard of Saxe Weimar and the Swedish generals, Horn and Banier, were the chief commanders on the Protestant side, and on the Catholic, Ferdinand, King of Hungary, the heir of the Emperor, together with Piccolomini, and the other generals who had served under Wallenstein. Holland and the Netherlands also took their share in the war, the land forces of the Dutch being under Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, with whom young Rupert of the Rhine made his first campaign, the fleet under Admiral Heine. The Governor of the Netherlands was Fernando, brother to the King of Spain, Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, and commonly known as the Cardinal Infant. He was an able man, and had collected an army in the Milanese territory, with which he marched northwards, when Wallenstein was no longer protesting against his entrance through the Tyrol towards Bavaria.

On the other side there was disunion. The Elector John George of Saxony hoped to get the league he had made with Wallenstein confirmed by the Emperor, the Elector of Brandenburg was affronted because the Swedes would not promise him their little Queen Christina for his eldest son, and Horn and Bernhard were not of the same mind, while both were angry with Oxenstjerna for not supplying them with money enough.

The King of Hungary profited by these dissensions. He mustered his forces at Prague, retook Ratisbon, and in it Count Thurn, the originator of the whole war, captured Donauwerth, and invested Nordlingen, where he was joined by the Cardinal Infant and the

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The Battle of Nordlingen. 1634.

army from Italy. They assaulted the city, but in vain, and the German and Swedish army resolved to give them battle—or rather Bernhard's fiery impetuosity prevailed against the cooler judgment of Horn.

The battle of Nordlingen was fought on the 6th of September, 1634. It was one of the worst defeats the Protestants had suffered. The Duke of Lorraine took the standard of Weimar with his own hand. The King and Cardinal both showed much courage, in a fight that lasted eight hours. They only lost 2,000 men, while 8,000 Swedes were killed, 4,000 made prisoners, among them Horn himself, with several wounds. He was generously treated, the Cardinal Infant giving up his quarters to him and retiring into a hovel. Nordlingen surrendered the next day, and Bernhard was in full retreat.

There might have been peace if it had not been for Richelieu, but he could not endure that the House of Austria should triumph without France having gained something. His mind, like that of all French statesmen, was set upon the frontier of the Rhine, and though he would not proclaim war between France and the Empire, he permitted 6,000 Frenchmen to join the standard of Duke Bernhard, and promised more, giving large subsidies to him and Oxenstjerna, on condition that Elsass should be given up to France.

This interference of France was very sore to the German princes, and John George of Saxony made his peace with the Emperor at Prague, on the understanding that the Edict of Restitution was not to be enforced, and Lutheranism was to be tolerated. The Archduke Leopold resigned his claims to all his nominal dioceses. Magdeburg, Bremen and Strasburg, and only retained Halberstadt. The States and cities that chose to accept the treaty might be included, but not the Calvinist Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, nor the young Elector Palatine. Franconia was offered to Bernhard if he would become a Roman Catholic, but he refused, and the inheritance of Pomerania on the death of the old Duke was promised to the Elector of Brandenburg, thus further alienating Sweden. King Charles I. sent Lord Arundel to endeavour, in this pacification, to secure something for the unfortunate Elector Palatine, but in vain. The Emperor was polite, but Maximilian of Bavaria declared that what the sword had taken, the sword would keep.

The war was thus continuing, and was more horrible than ever with the exhaustion of the country, and the increasing brutality of the soldiery, many of whom had been bred up in camps, and knew nothing better, regarding farmers, peasants and burghers simply as beings to be tortured to make them produce money or food, or if they had none, for wanton sport. There is a frightful picture of the country, drawn by a gentleman belonging to the English embassy, of the scenes they encountered on the banks of the Rhine. At Bacharach, the poor people were found dead with grass in their mouths; and all along the river were plundered villages, blackened walls, desolation. If a little relief were given, the wretched people fought for it, so that they fell

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Intervention of France.
1636.

into the Rhine and were sometimes drowned. At Neustadt there were starving children sitting at the doors, and one poor little village had been plundered twenty-eight times in two years, and twice in one day.

Germany was a wreck, but she was not allowed to be at peace, for France was resolved to make her distress a means of aggrandisement, and of pursuing the old policy of humbling the house of Austria. The real war was between France and Spain, the Swedes and Protestant Germans being the tools of the first, the Imperialists that of the second. Oxenstjerna and Bernhard were together invited to France, where they were presented to Louis XIII. at Compiègne, and the Cardinal and Chancellor conferred together in Latin, having no other common language, while the gallant Duke Bernhard, with his handsome, sunburnt face and long fair hair, was treated as a hero by the ladies. Queen Anne begged him always to spare women for her sake. Poor man, he would have been glad enough to do so, if he could have held in the ferocious savages who called him their commander. The cities which the Swedes had taken near the French frontiers were made over to their ally, Bernhard received a considerable subsidy, and undertook to carry on the war as near France as possible.

War was proclaimed at Brussels between France and Spain, and Richelieu sent four armies into the field, two to the south, where there was a continual struggle on the Savoyard and Italian border, one to Elsass, one to the Low Countries, where it was to fight in union with the Dutch and the Prince of Orange. It took Tirlemont and made such a horrible sack of the city as warned the rest of the Netherlanders to resist to the utmost, and Piccolomini, bringing up the Imperial troops, prevented any further progress.

Richelieu had placed in command of the French troops in Germany Marshal de la Force, and also the third son of the Duke d'Epernon, Cardinal de la Valette, for he preferred employing ecclesiastics in military commands. In La Force's division was a young man who was soon to make himself a great name, a younger son of the Duke of Bouillon, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, a youth of so much fire that at thirteen he had challenged a gentleman who questioned the veracity of the earlier books of Livy. He was a Huguenot. Richelieu was freely employing those of *la religion*, as it was termed, and the Duke of Rohan was in command in Savoy. La Valette defeated the Duke of Lorraine, and joined Bernhard, who was opposing Gallas and the imperial force in Elsass, but they met with no success, the army melted away under sickness, and in the following year, 1637, the Cardinal Infant led a Spanish army across the borders of France, and rapidly took several places, crossed the Somme, at Cerisy and took Corbie. These fortresses were in a ruinous state, with great gaps in the walls, their fosses choked up, and their cannon lying on the ground unmounted, so that defence was impossible, but their commandants were sentenced for the surrender. Nothing was defensible beyond the Oise, and Johann de Werth, the general of the Catholic League, with his German cavalry, was making

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L'Année de Corbie. 1637.

forays that terrified the whole Isle of France, and gave the French a taste of the horrors they were prolonging in Germany.

Paris was in a state of extreme alarm, *l'Année de Corbie* was long a proverb there, and a great number of families fled to Orleans; whilst the mob gathered round the Hôtel de Richelieu, shouting out imprecations on the Cardinal for having begun this war without providing for the defence of the kingdom. For a moment Richelieu's courage failed, and he was about to shut himself up, guarded by a triple line of musqueteers, when Père Joseph, and Giulio Mazzarini, the Pope's nuncio, persuaded him that he was lost if he did not rise to the occasion. He ordered his carriage, and drove to the Hôtel de Ville, with only a few mounted grooms following him, and on his appearance the shouts of execration were silenced, and became prayers for his success.

The Duke of Lorraine had marched into Burgundy, Gallas and the King of Hungary were both marching as if to fall on Paris.

Richelieu called on the Parliament of Paris, and all the financial departments, for aid in money. It was readily given, large sums were voted, accompanied with the declaration that the Parliament intended to watch that the money was well employed. Louis XIII. was very angry, he sent for the presidents of the various chambers, and said, "Meddle with your own affairs; I can govern my kingdom for myself." The King was personally brave, he would not leave his capital, and 60,000 men were hastily raised, who probably would not have been very effective if the threatened advance on Paris had been made, but the Cardinal Infant and Johann von Werth could not maintain their position till their allies came up, for their cavalry was melting away. Each soldier who had gained some plunder proceeded to desert and go home to secure it. The regular armies of France were returning, and the marauders retreated, while the King of France himself advanced to retake Corbie.

Meantime the Elector of Saxony, now on the Imperial side, tried to drive back the Swedes beyond the Baltic, but he was beaten by General Banier at Wittstock, and the horrible and unspeakable misery from which Gustavus had once delivered Saxony, set in again, for the Swedes were utterly demoralised, and regarded the Saxons as traitors to their cause.

That same Autumn a Diet met at Ratisbon, which elected the King of Hungary King of the Romans. Charles I. attempted to obtain restitution for his nephew the Elector Palatine, but England had ceased to be respected, and he was disregarded. The election was made only just in time, for the Emperor, Ferdinand II., died in his fifty-ninth year in the ensuing February, 1637. He had been the chief cause of this, the most horrible and desolating war that probably ever raged for so long a period, and all from his conscientiousness. To extirpate heresy and restore the Church was, he held, his bounden duty at all costs; but all the time he was a beneficent and fatherly sovereign to the Catholics, an excellent and tender father and husband, and a kind

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Death of Ferdinand II. 1637.

master to his servants, the poorest beggar had free access to him, and he would not turn away even from those supposed to be plague-smitten. He gave freely to ransom captives from the Turks and Moors, and provided feasts for the poor, waiting on them with his own hands. In fact, he had all the personal qualities of a mediæval saint, but these very excellences rendered him the tool of the Jesuits, and thus his government only too much resembled that of Philip II., except that the days of the faggot and stake were gone by, and that—if he did not know of the design of Butler against Wallenstein—assassination was never one of his instruments.

His son, Ferdinand III., was a man much of the same character, but with weaker health and subject to the gout. It was said of him that throughout his reign he never committed an act that he knew to be unjust, and he was less subservient to the Jesuits than his father had been; but his abilities were not of the highest order, and he wrote so bad a hand, owing perhaps to the gout, that if his generals thought fit to disregard his orders, they could always plead that they could not read them.

At the same time died the old childless Bogislav of Pomerania. He had made Gustavus Adolphus his heir, while the Emperor had promised the duchy to the Elector of Brandenburg, and thus Banier on the one hand, and Gallas on the other, had a campaign, with all the accompanying horrors of devastation, in Pomerania and Brandenburg, but the successes were on the Imperialist side. The death of the Landgrave of Hesse likewise brought his country into friendly relations with the Empire. When the Protestant cause was decaying everywhere, and the Swedes almost forced back to the Baltic, it did not seem to be a favourable time for an effort on the part of the young Elector Charles Louis, who was about one and twenty; but his visit with his brother Rupert had produced a favourable impression on the English, and a king's letter had been issued to make a collection for the expedition, King Charles and Lord Craven each contributing £10,000. There was so much collected that the poor ex-queen of Bohemia begged for some of it to pay her debts, but Charles I. would not hear of its being thus wasted. Charles Louis went to arrange plans with General Banier, and Rupert, with his next brother Maurice, lads of nineteen and eighteen, went to join the Prince of Orange, who was besieging Breda. They were the first to detect the sounds of a night attack from the besieged, and to prevent it. There were several English adventurers in the army, of whom we hear for the first time, Jacob Astley, William Monk, and George Goring. In one of the attacks on the place, after the fight was over, as the soldiers were stripping the dead, one of the men supposed to be slain, who had endured the spoiling in silence, when he saw some officers, sprang up, exclaiming, *Messieurs, est il question de quartier?* He was ever after called among the English, Falstaff. As soon as Breda surrendered, Maurice was sent off to a French University, and the two elder brothers returning to their mother at the Hague, were the

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Captivity of Rupert. 1638.

foremost champions, in Moorish costumes, with lances and scimetars, at a sort of tournament given by her at the Hague, which must have somewhat lessened any sympathy for her unpaid debts.

Elizabeth paid her unwilling respects to Marie de Medici, who, since the Infanta Isabel's death, had not been comfortable at Brussels, and had resolved to throw herself on her daughter Henrietta, though Charles, well knowing how mischievous she had been in France, would gladly have kept her away, if he could anyhow have refused an asylum to his mother-in-law when she represented herself as persecuted. "I think the wind loves our country in keeping her from it as long as it can," wrote his sister. However, Marie came, was politely met at Harwich by Charles, and was received with much tenderness by Henrietta, surrounded by her little children.

The Princes Palatine were using the money raised for them in collecting an army of the mercenaries of numerous broken armies, meeting at Mepping, a castle in Münster, which Charles Louis had purchased. The whole amounted to three regiments of cavalry, a regiment of guards, two troops of dragoons, and some artillery. Elizabeth, who could not have had any very great hopes of the success of such a force as this, begged Lord Craven to go with them to take care of her boys, and he had the command of the guards. Count Konigsmark, was supposed to be General-in-chief, Rupert was Colonel of one regiment of cavalry containing many gallant English volunteers. Some Swedish infantry under General King made the whole force amount to 4,000.

At Lemgo, they came in sight of eight regiments of Austrian cuirassiers, and one of Irish dragoons, commanded by that Devereux who had killed Wallenstein. There was not much chance of success for them in any case, and what there might have been was diminished by a quarrel between King and Konigsmark, who probably thought the affair hopeless, and only cared to take care of themselves. Rupert and his volunteers went thundering through the Austrians opposed to them with such irresistible force that they broke through and carried all before them. Nobody however came to support them, except Lord Craven with a few of the Elector's guards, and the weight of Austrians closed in and dispersed them. Looking round to rally his men, Rupert found himself absolutely alone, and was surprised that none of the enemy noticed him, till he remembered that he had a white favour in his helmet, and saw that the Austrians wore the same colours. He rode back to try to find his men, and presently saw his brother's standard of the Rhine being defended by a few brave men. He rushed to help them, and fought till all had fallen, and the standard swept off, Craven wounded and made prisoner. Then Rupert tried to make his horse leap a wall, but it was exhausted, and fell with him. The enemy surrounded him, and an old officer, striking up the visor of his helmet, demanded who he was. "A Colonel" was the answer. "A young one!" exclaimed the veteran, but General Hatzfeldt coming up,

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Death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. 1639.

recognised the young Prince, and persuaded him to surrender. His brother, who had none of his fire and animation, had gone off in a carriage with General King, towards Minden. They were upset in the river Weser, and Charles Louis was only saved by clinging to a willow branch, and the General also escaped, but the coachman and horses were drowned. Rupert was taken with the wounded Craven to Wannendorp, whence he wrote a letter to his uncle in pencil on a leaf of his pocket-book. Afterwards he was transferred to Lintz, where the Governor, Count Kuffstein, was desired to endeavour to gain him over to the Emperor's side, and to convert him to the Roman Catholic faith. But Rupert was not to be won over, neither would he argue with two Jesuit priests who were sent to instruct him. He read a good deal, and studied science and drawing, and as he dined at the Count's table and had free access to the castle gardens, he had some love passages with the beautiful daughter of the Governor, which neither of them ever forgot, though their destiny led them far apart. He also had a beautiful white dog named Boy, probably a poodle, as when it became a distinguished character in England, and was suspected of being a Lapland lady transformed, its mother's name was said to be Puddle. This dog lived on friendly terms with a tame hare, another solace of Rupert's captivity, which obeyed every command he gave it. The Episcopal Archduke Leopold, the Angel, paid a visit to Lintz, and was so much charmed with the captive youth as to obtain many indulgences for him, even leave to go out hunting on parole, and to practise with the "skrewed gun." If Rupert would have asked pardon of the Emperor, he would have been freed at once, but as he was conscious of no crime, he proudly refused, and on this, all his extra pleasures were cut off and his captivity became closer.

Meantime, the chief seat of the war was in Elsass. Was it to be Elsass or Alsace? Bernhard was fighting the Austrians there, and gaining brilliant successes. He took Rheinfelden, Freiburg, and Breisach, the last after a terrible siege and blockade, and by the end of 1638 was triumphant there. He had a Lutheran thanksgiving festival in the Cathedral of Breisach, received the homage of the inhabitants and believed himself Duke of Elsass. But this would not have suited Richelieu, and it was intimated to him that if he meant to hold the place as his own, it must not be as a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire but as Duc d'Alsace, a vassal of France. "No," said Bernhard, "I will not be the first to dismember the Empire." However, the next year, he laid siege to Thann, the last unconquered place in Elsass, but there he was laid low by a fever, and died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, on the 8th of July, 1639.

He had left his army and his claims to his brothers; but young Charles Louis thought he might get a chance of commanding the first.

Just at this time, the Spaniards had fitted out an enormous Armada, with a view to a great attack on the Dutch, who were harassing their colonies and overturning their trade. Such a fleet had not been seen

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The Fleets in the Downs. 1639.

since the days of Philip II. There were sixty-seven huge men-of-war, the largest, the *Mater Teresa*, was of 2,400 tons burden, with seventy guns and 1,000 men, and the entire fleet carried 2,000 guns, and 24,000 men, under Don Antonio d'Oquendo. The English watched them sail up the Channel and were glad to be at peace with Spain. The French fleet, though much improved by the care of Richelieu, was not strong enough to intercept it.

The Dutch fleet numbered at that moment thirty-one ships, with 2,000 men. But at its head was Martin Harperts Tromp, who had at thirty-three years of age climbed up from a cabin-boy to be an Admiral. His Vice-Admiral was Wille Cornelis de With, a ruder, wilder, but equally brave and able man. Tromp was prudent and cautious, De With fierce and vehement, with a strong jealousy of Tromp, and no idea but of fighting.

On the 15th of September, the huge Spanish fleet "lay heaving many a mile," off Beversiers—in sight of Tromp. The Vice-Admiral joined him in the course of the night, and came hurrying on board the flag-ship. "We must fight," he said; "let us attack the enemy."

"We cannot, they are ten times our strength," said Tromp.

"Not a bit of it," said De With, "there's room enough at the bottom for them all. Better get our necks broken by the Spanish, than by the mob when we come home."

Tromp consented, they drank a cup of wine together, and De With was rowed back to his ship. Tromp poured a broadside into the flag-ship of Oquendo, the Spanish Admiral, and De With, with half-a-dozen small vessels, rushed like a hawk where the Spanish ships were thickest. In and out among the tall clumsy galleys went the wonderfully manœuvered Dutch ships, and at the close of the day, the Spaniards retreated, having lost three galleons, with many more disabled. Two Dutch ships had been sunk. De With's was shot through and through, and he himself a grim spectacle of powder and blood, but the victory was half won.

The 17th was too foggy for any one to move, but at eleven at night, the moon shone out clearly, and the Dutch fell on the Spaniards again with the utmost fury. At last the Armada got under shelter of the Castle of Dover, as they hoped, in the Downs, but they were really in a trap, shut in by the Goodwin Sands stretching ten miles before them, and they in a channel four miles wide! Tromp put one half his fleet to guard the north end, another half at the south, sent De With with his damaged ship to entreat the States to send reinforcements, and hurried himself to Calais, where he bought 40,000 lbs. of powder and 4,000 cannon-balls. He came back to find Sir John Pennington, with thirty-four ships of the line, watching their proceedings in English waters, and he declared that he had orders to attack whichever party first fired a shot.

Matters stood still. English sympathy was against the Dutch, for the massacre of Amboyna was not forgotten, and there were perpetual quarrels over the herring fishery. Charles I. meantime thought their

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Battle of the Downs. 1639.

fate in his hands; he offered Richelieu to withdraw his protection from the Spanish fleet, on condition Charles Louis was placed at the head of Bernhard's army, and restored to the Palatinate, and when this was not readily accepted, he offered the Cardinal Infant to help the Spanish ships to escape for £150,000 to raise the armaments that would be needed if he offended France. Indeed, thirteen Spanish ships were guided away by English pilots, till Tromp found out the passage and guarded it.

Meantime, the Dutch had collected and armed every merchant vessel available, working day and night, and at the end of a month Tromp's fleet numbered 110. Curious messages passed between the Admirals. Pennington told Tromp it would be nobler to run out to sea and fight the Spaniards there. Tromp said he was quite willing if Oquendo would do the same. Oquendo said he was quite willing, but he had no powder, to which Tromp replied by an offer of half his. Then Oquendo said he had no masts, and again Tromp offered a ship-load of them, but at last, the States, hearing of the negotiation with the Netherlands, sent orders to their Admiral to fight. Still Tromp would not fire the first shot, but he sailed in his own sloop right through the fleet of the enemy so as to provoke them. They fired and pierced his sail. Next day, they fired again, and killed a man. Tromp sent the corpse in a boat to be shewn to Sir John Pennington as a proof of which party had been the first to fire, adding that he asked no aid, he would do all himself. And on the 20th of October, he divided his fleet into six, and fell on the Spaniards at all points, the English looking on, closely watched, however, by one of the squadrons. The rout was hopeless, in the narrow space and shallow waters where the huge sea castles could not be easily manœuvered. The *Mater Teresa*, after being attacked by three vessels, was ignited by a fire ship, and resounded with shrieks and yells. Only 200 of the 1,000 on board were saved, and the sight when she blew up was most awful, the guns flying red hot into the air, the crew hurled out half charred. Twenty-two ships ran ashore, the men leaping out and swimming. Eleven ships surrendered without firing a shot, some ran against each other and sank; others were stranded on the Goodwin Sands. D'Oquendo himself got out to sea with twelve ships, but Tromp followed him and captured three. Of sixty-seven ships, only eighteen altogether reached Dunkirk and those in a lamentable condition. There were 1,800 prisoners taken by the Dutch, and all along the Kentish coast dead bodies and crushed timbers were continually floating up and being cast ashore.

The English felt the humiliation of their inactivity, and blamed the King; the King felt the disgrace and blamed the nation, who stinted him of means to maintain the honour of the country; but he accepted the apologies of the Dutch, who sent an embassy to make amends, and to propose a marriage between William, the eldest son of the Prince of Orange, and Charles's eldest daughter Mary, both young children.

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Diet at Ratisbon. 1640.

There were also hopes that Richelieu might be grateful enough for the non-interference, as to help Charles Louis to the command of the army of Weimar, and the Palatinate, and the young man set forth in haste to profit by the favour he expected. He had, however, taken no passport, so as soon as he entered France, he was captured, and carried to Moulins. There Richelieu, who had no notion of setting up a German in either capacity, accused him of intending to seize a town in Alsace, and imprisoned him at Vincennes. His three younger brothers, Maurice, Edward, and Philip, were all at school at Paris. Elizabeth was very uneasy, but she obtained the return of the younger boys without difficulty, though the Elector Palatine was detained on the accusation of having intended to seize the places conquered by Bernhard in Alsace and claimed by the French. On King Charles's remonstrance, the youth was permitted to be at large in the English ambassador's family, on giving his parole not to leave the kingdom, or head the army of Weimer, and in August he was released.

All the original actors of the war had passed away, and it had lasted twenty-one years. As a war between Germans for German interests it was over, and Ferdinand III. assembled a Diet at Ratisbon early in 1640, in which he hoped to unite the whole Empire in a national resistance to France and Sweden. He did not entirely succeed, for there was still a party who would hold out as long as there was any hope of aid from without, and Frederick William, the new Elector of Brandenburg, a much abler man than his father, organised an opposition, though only eighteen years old. But on the whole the Empire might henceforth be considered as one body, and though the weary war lasted eight years longer, it was not so much between German Protestant and German Catholic, as France fighting for Alsace and Lorraine, Sweden for Pomerania against the House of Austria in Spain, and Germany. The large element of Scottish soldiery was likewise drawn off, having carried their military training to the cause of the Covenant in their own country.

Of the subsidiary wars of France and Spain in Savoy and Italy, nothing is here said, as they had little or no influence on English politics.

CAMEO XXVII.

THE SHORT PARLIAMENT.

(1639—1640.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1637. Ferdinand III.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXVII.

The two Parties.

BRITAIN, which had been tranquil for nearly a century, while the nations around her had been rent by wars of religion, was to have her share of the strife. Catholicity and its opponents were here likewise to struggle for the mastery, though in general with less bitterness than on the Continent, since English Catholicism was not, like Romanism, blindly and conscientiously intolerant.

The first blow was struck by one who was to become a noted champion on the side contrary to that which he began by espousing, James Graham, Earl of Montrose. He was born in 1612, his mother being Lady Lilias Ruthven, a sister of that Earl of Gowrie, who gave name to the strange conspiracy against James I. He succeeded early to his title, was married, after the fashion of noble wards, while a mere boy, and at twenty was a widower, and the father of three sons. He was sent to travel abroad, especially in Italy, and returned after several years, so highly cultivated and brilliant a gentleman, that when he appeared at Court, the Marquis of Hamilton and the other gentlemen, who dreaded lest the King should throw himself into the arms of another Buckingham, held him aloof, influenced Charles to receive him coolly, and then increased his mortification by neglect.

Going back to Scotland, his national feelings were at once enlisted against English dictation, and thus he was one of the foremost in promoting the Covenant, and in the General Assembly of Glasgow. The refusal of Aberdeen to accept the Covenant was greatly resented, and was held to be partly the work of the Gordons, whose chief, the Marquis of Huntly, was devoted to the King. The Scots who had returned from Germany were collected into a little army of 3,000 or 4,000 men, who were put under the command of Montrose, with

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The first blow. 1639.

Alexander Leslie, an experienced old officer, as his lieutenant. In February, 1639, Montrose heard that the few Aberdeenshire men favourable to the Covenant were to meet at Turriff in Banffshire; and that the Gordons meant to assemble in force to disperse them. He thereupon took with him nearly 200 men across moorland paths, over the Grampians, descended into Turriff, and placed himself in ambush behind the kirkyard wall. Down came the Gordons, under Huntly himself, their hats adorned with red ribbons, 2,000 strong, out leaped the Covenanters, and Huntly knew not how to act, for though Lieutenant of the North by the King's appointment, the Scottish Government would not seal his commission, and he was besides instructed to abstain from any acts of aggression, until the King's forces should be ready to enter Scotland.

So he could only lead off his 2,000 Gordons from the delighted Covenanters. The rebels now mustered in force, 9,000 strong, each wearing a blue ribbon, and marched into Aberdeen, all in excellent discipline and order, with five banners before them, one of which bore the motto "For Religion, the Covenant and the Country." The Bishop, the clergy, and all who were resolved against the Covenant, fled from the city; and the Covenanting ministers preached to their hearts' content in the pulpits from which they had been excluded, and had the satisfaction of preventing the observance of Good Friday—a heavy fine was required from the citizens, but they were not otherwise plundered, and provisions were paid for. A considerable present of French crowns was moreover sent to the Covenanting chiefs from the crown of France, Richelieu thus paying off his score against the English for assisting the Rochellois. Only when Hamilton had returned, had the King laid the matter before his Privy Council. The Archbishop strongly advised that no warlike measures should be used in a matter of conscience. Wentworth wrote his advice that strong garrisons should be placed in Edinburgh Castle, and the other Royal fortresses, and the Scots saddled with their maintenance, but Charles's dignity had been offended, and he felt the contempt for his authority shown at Glasgow too strongly not to resolve on reducing the rebels. But the army, as an institution did not exist as yet. The King had his Yeomen of the Guard and Gentlemen Pensioners, that was all—the feudal machinery was supposed to continue, also the militia, to which each parish, at the summons of the High Sheriff through the Justices of the Peace, was bound to contribute men in proportion to the inhabitants, but on the few occasions, since the Wars of the Roses, when this method had been tried, the results had been such as Shakespeare showed in Falstaff's ragged regiment. The well-fed and able-bodied bought themselves off, and the Captains sent to collect men, preferred bribes to efficiency. Even with the Armada of 1588 in the Channel, hardly a respectable regiment could be levied. There was likewise the usual lack of money, which Charles tried to supply by calling on the Bishops, Judges and other non-combatants to give money instead of personal service. A consider-

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The Trot of Turriff. 1639.

able sum was thus collected, and the nobles and gentry were summoned according to their tenures. Charles thought the former hatred of Englishman against Scot would have prevailed; but the old days of galloping about in full armour as a lively sport had passed away; those who had a taste for fighting could get enough in Germany; and the others had begun to consider about the cause in which they were called from home. And the Puritan spirit sympathised with the Scots. Some —those indeed only a few—hated the English Prayer-book in any form at all—and others, who loved much of it, but were used to lax practices, were in their first spirit of opposition to the improvements made by Laud, and had heard that the Scottish Prayer-book went further than their own. There was a general impression that they were to be used to force Popery on the Scots, and then that the Scots would be used to force Popery on them. Even the loyal Churchmen were, many of them, annoyed at Hamilton's management of the affair, and it was very slowly that an unwilling, disorderly army was collected at York.

Meantime the Covenanting army was continually gathering strength, and the Marquis of Huntly felt obliged to come to terms with them. He met Montrose for the purpose, each bringing eleven followers, and he there offered to sign the original Covenant, and to bind himself to maintain the laws and liberties of the state. This answer Montrose carried back to Aberdeen, and an invitation was sent to the Marquis to come into the city, a safe conduct being signed by Montrose and others. After two or three days, Huntly found that he was watched and guarded, and appealing to Montrose, discovered that he was indeed a captive, and as such was taken to Edinburgh, where Leslie had seized the castle. It is not known how far Montrose was a consenting party to this breach of faith, but the Gordons never forgave him for it, nor trusted him when they were fighting in the same cause. Huntly's son, Lord Aboyne, took his place by the King's command, and Hamilton, who was with a squadron of ships in the Firth of Forth, was ordered to supply him with reinforcements, but would not do so—only giving him four brass cannon, and a few officers, especially Colonel Gunn, a Caithness man, who had served in Germany.

With these, the Gordons made an attack on the Covenanters on the 13th of May, once again at Turriff. The first shots of the civil war were there fired, the first blood shed, two Covenanters dying and one Gordon, before the rebels ran off, so fast that the fight was called "the Trot of Turriff." Young Lord Lewis Gordon, the next brother, a mere boy at school, living at Strathbogie with his grandmother, was so delighted at the news, that he scaled the walls and ran away to the hills, whence he came back with a troop of 1,000 Highlanders, wearing their dress, with bagpipes playing in the van. Thus he joined his brother, and they marched towards the great castle of Dunottar, but durst not besiege it. The Aberdeen loyalists triumphed for the moment, and even tied blue ribbons round their dogs' necks in derision of the Covenanters, but Montrose marched back again to attack the Gordons,

and as his troops passed through Aberdeen, the poor dogs suffered for their adornment. Dogs were playing a certain part in the movement, for in contempt, black dogs with white legs or breasts were called Bishops! The Highlanders hastened to their fastnesses, and Montrose began besieging them. He came back, however, towards Edinburgh, on hearing that Aboyne had marched in that direction, and there was an encounter at Stonehaven, wherein the Highlanders for the first time heard the roar of the muskets' mother, as they termed cannon. It excited their superstitious terror to such a degree that almost the whole of them ran off headlong back to their mountains.

The more regular force, for a whole day held the Brig of Dee, a high, steep narrow bridge of seven arches, but the Covenanters pretended to march up the stream to a ford, the Gordons hurried to guard it, leaving only fifty men to protect the bridge, and these were easily overpowered. It was suspected that the removal of the forces was partly due to treachery on Gunn's part.

Charles had advanced to York. Archbishop Spottiswoode had given him two pieces of advice, not to have Scotchmen in his army, nor among his personal attendants, and to attempt no conciliation. Charles, however, though sure that his counsels were betrayed, could not believe any individual Scot capable of such an act, and he kept them about him as before, thus exciting a good deal of jealousy. However, he required of every noble who accompanied him an oath of personal allegiance, binding them to oppose all seditions, conspiracies and covenants against him, even if they came veiled under pretence of religion.

Two Puritans, Fiennes, Lord Say, and Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, refused the oath, saying, "that being ignorant of the laws of Scotland, they could not undertake to say that the Covenanters were rebels, or the war against them just." Charles, in much anger, put them under arrest, but consulting his lawyers found there was no legal ground for proceeding against them, and therefore released them. The Earl of Essex, a grave, melancholy man, who had never recovered the disaster of his youth, was Lieutenant-General of the army, the Earl of Holland commander of the cavalry, the Marquis of Hamilton of the fleet, with Sir John Pennington to supply naval knowledge. It was said that of all the men taken on board, 5,000 in number, there were not 200 who knew how to fire a musket, which was some excuse for the small help afforded to Aboyne.

The Scottish army mustered on the links at Leith, with Leslie as their commander, a little crooked old man, scarcely able to read or write, but to whose military experience all the gentlemen gave way; almost all the Colonels, or as the Scots called them, Crowners, were noblemen, the officers lairds, the staple of the army stout farmers, or peasants armed with muskets, pikes, or broadswords. Argyll kept a body of his Highlanders in the rear, for the Lowlanders had no affection for such company, nor would they have submitted to the discipline of

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Treaty of Berwick. 1639.

Gustavus Adolphus, which was rigorously enforced. They were well supplied with provisions, partly through the sympathising cities, partly because "one of their ordinances was to seize on the rents of non-Covenanters." Over every captain's tent was a banner with the Scottish arms and the motto, "For Christ's Crown and the Covenant." With 22,000 foot, and 500 horse, they marched towards the Border, and were met by a proclamation from the King, who had reached Newcastle, and announced that he should treat them as rebels and invaders, if they came within ten miles of the Border.

They advanced, however, and Lord Holland came in sight of a body of them near Kelso, but with the reluctance of men to shed the first blood in a civil war, he did not attack them. Leslie entrenched himself on Dunse Law, a round hill above the town, Charles's camp was at the Birks on the other side of the Tweed. It was only too plain which army consisted of the superior materials, and would be certain of victory. Defeat for the King would be most mischievous. Treaty alone was possible. So a page, named Robert Leslie, was permitted to visit his kinsfolk in the Scottish camp, and was instructed to suggest, as if from himself, that it might be as well to offer a humble supplication before going further.

The hint was taken, and a letter was sent requesting his Majesty to appoint some persons favourable to the true religion and the common peace to hear the humble desires of the Scots. Sir Edmund Verney was sent to arrange matters, a safe conduct was given, and on the 10th of June a conference took place in the tent of the Earl of Arundel. The Scots were represented by Rothes, Loudon, the Sheriff of Teviotdale, Warriston and Henderson. Suspecting Arundel of Popish inclinations, these gentlemen chose to address themselves to Lord Holland, but presently the King entered the tent, so quietly that at first the Scots did not perceive that he was there till he seated himself at the table. Day by day he attended the conference and talked over the questions, listening so patiently that the Scots complacently thought "his Majesty's ears had never been tickled with such discourses" and considered themselves to have purchased "a great deal of reputation for wisdom, eloquence, gravity, loyalty, and all other good parts." They expected the King to sign a resolution for abolishing Episcopacy, but he put this aside, nor would he acknowledge the acts of the General Assembly. Everything was to be fixed at a new General Assembly and a new Parliament, which Charles intended to attend at Edinburgh. The armies on either side were disbanded just in time to save Aberdeen from another inroad of Covenanters, the royal castles given up by the rebels and Huntly set at liberty.

Matters were, however, far from secure. The mob of Edinburgh, especially the godly women, or the apprentices in their likeness, hooted and pelted the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Traquair, and behaved in such an outrageous manner that Lord Loudon went to Berwick to excuse them to the King. Charles then requested thirteen more of the

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General Assembly of Edinburgh. 1639.

other distinguished Covenanters to come and advise with him on the expediency of venturing himself to hold a Parliament among these fanatics. Some fancied that he meant to seize and keep them, others that it was a scheme for talking them over, as indeed it was. Only three Lords and three Commoners came, Montrose, Loudon and Lothian, and on the minds of these Charles made a considerable impression.

The Scottish Commissioners at the same time put forth their own version of the conferences at Dunse, a document which in the eyes of all the English who had been present was so scurrilous and scandalous that they petitioned the King to have it burnt by the common hangman. It was the worst thing they could have done, for all the Scottish pulpits rang with the allegation that the King had burnt the treaty of Berwick and was not to be trusted.

In the temper of the Scots, Charles decided not to meet them at an Assembly which was resolved to make him renounce all that he and his father had done for the restoration of the Church. He therefore returned southwards, and at first chose Hamilton as his commissioner, but the Marquis refused to encounter the Assembly again, and the Earl of Traquair was appointed in his stead, receiving instructions that though he must consent to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, he was by no means to let it be authoritatively condemned or abused as a principle of Church Government.

Accordingly the Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1639, carefully constituted like the last. There were a few old ministers who had been in office before the articles of Perth, and these were full of joy, Mr. John Wemys could scarcely speak, "for tears trickling down along his grey hairs like drops of rain or dew upon the top of the tender grass, and yet withal smiling for joy." He said, "he remembered when this Kirk of Scotland had a beautiful face," and gave earnest thanks for her restoration, and old Mr. John Bell added, "my voice, nor my tongue cannot express the joy of my heart to see the torn-down Kirk restored to her beauty." And yet what was the restoration of beauty in which these pious men rejoiced, but the plunging back their so-called Kirk into the nakedness of spoliation, and rending away the links by which there had been an attempt to renew her unity with the Church of the Apostles?

The King and Archbishop Spottiswoode meanwhile corresponded on the means of preventing the miserable work of the Assembly from becoming permanent. It was devised that all the fugitive Scottish Bishops should sign a protestation against the Assembly, where, constitutionally, they had a right to sit. This was to be delivered to Lord Traquair, the Royal Commissioner, by some mean unexpected person, and would be held, in case opportunity should offer, to have invalidated all acts there passed. It would have been fair and open had this protest been openly made; but the political tactics of the time were apt to make men consider that a protest secretly made might avail, and the habit was not unfrequent.

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Declarations of Charles.
1639.

Two declarations had been published by Charles on his Northern journey, against the Covenant, one brief, the other, "the Large Declaration" written very ably by a Scottish clergyman, Walter Balcanquall, Dean of Durham, explaining the King's dealing with the Scottish Church, building on what every other country in Europe then acknowledged, the King's perfect right to deal with such matters, to maintain due order, and to put down such proceedings as those of the viragos of Edinburgh, or the ravings of the prophetess Margaret Nicholson. This Large Declaration being by no means to the taste of the Assembly, it was voted to be an offence against the King who had sanctioned it, and he was requested in a supplication to send Mr. Walter Balcanquall to Scotland to take his trial for it, that others might be deterred from such dangerous courses. Mr. Andrew Cant observed, "It is so full of gross absurdities that I think hanging of the author should prevent all other censures." Being answered that hanging was not within the power of kirkmen, the Sheriff of Teviotdale rejoined that he was well acquainted with hanging! Next the Assembly insisted on a still more universal signature of the Covenant, emanating from themselves, and to all this, though exceeding his commission, Traquair gave consent.

Parliament met at the end of August, riding in great state to the handsome new Parliament House just completed, and which now serves for Law Courts. There was a good deal of wrangling over detail, chiefly with a view to preventing the employment of Englishmen in Scotland. Among other things it was proposed that the custody of the royal Castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton and Stirling should only be committed to Scotsmen born, and with consent of their Parliament. Also there were proposals to limit the power of the crown in pardoning criminals, and its dues on imports. Lord Traquair sent to consult the King, who returned answer that it was plain that the Parliament was not legislating for the sake of its own peculiar religion but to overthrow the power of the crown, and he therefore adjourned it till the 2nd of June, 1640, the next year. The estates broke up for the present, not without protest that they were not bound to do so.

There was on each side a sense that there would soon be an absolute war. Wentworth was called to London for consultation, with the Archbishop, Bishop Juxon, Hamilton, Sir Harry Vane, Secretary Windebank, Lord Northumberland and Cottington. The prelates spoke against a religious war; but Wentworth was for decisive measures, and undertook to obtain men and means from Ireland, whither he returned as Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant instead of Lord Deputy. Writs were issued for ship-money to the amount of £200,000: it was resolved that a Parliament should be called to assemble in April; and the council promised that if this should, as the King said, "prove untoward," they would assist him by extraordinary means.

The Scots meanwhile were endeavouring to strengthen themselves

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Meeting of Parliament. 1640.

by alliances with France. They viewed the French as their old allies in all their discords with England, and though their more strict and honest ministers would have been horrified at the idea of assistance from a Roman Catholic power, their statesmen, considering the affair as national, Scotch against English, thought no shame of writing to ask the support of Richelieu, who on his side regarded England as an ally of Spain and Austria, and therefore was willing to offer it on the old instinct of weakening England by intrigues in Scotland. Several letters were written, signed by Montrose, Rothes, Loudon, Mar, Montgomery and Alexander Leslie. One was lost out of the pocket of Johnstone of Warriston, and conveyed to Traquair, who sent it to the King, another was carried by one Colville, who was entrusted with the negotiation, and was arrested on his way through England; and the Earl of Loudon, who had brought the supplication to court, was sent to the Tower for what, in English eyes, was rank treason. The Parliament of Ireland voted plentiful supplies, and it was hoped that this would be an example to the English, which met on the 13th of April, 1640.

The King represented that Scotland was in a state of rebellion, and showed the letter inviting a French invasion, demanding supplies in order to defend the honour of his kingdom, and to defend his coasts against the Algerine pirates.

Of all this the Commons took no notice. All that they thought of was, that this was an occasion for insisting on the redress of the grievances that had been festering for eleven years. Numerous petitions were sent up, and Pym was appointed chairman of a committee for examining into them. A remonstrance was drawn up, which by Pym's advice was divided into three heads, religious, pecuniary, and parliamentary. The decrees of the Archbishop and the powers of Convocation, the substitution of catechising for sermons and the publication of non-Puritan books came under the first; under the second, the monopolies, the ship-money, the enlargement of the royal forests, the forced loans, and the prosecutions of which Hampden's was the type; and under the third, the command to adjourn the House of Commons without its own consent, and the prosecution of members such as Eliot, for what had taken place there. Co-operation was demanded from the Lords, who answered that the question of granting supplies ought to come first. The Commons said this was an infringement of their privileges. The Lords replied again that they had nothing to do with granting supplies, but that they could advise the House on the mischief they were doing the country by the delay.

The King also sent a message to demand whether they meant to go on with the grant or not, and there were two days of debates; then Sir Harry Vane, the secretary, brought an offer from the King to abandon ship-money altogether, provided the Commons would grant him twelve subsidies amounting to £850,000 to be paid, within three years. Over this there was a debate of nine hours, whether any supply should be granted and the amount then fixed, or whether the whole should be

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Dissolution of the Short Parliament 1640.

passed. Vane assured the King of his own opinion that there was not a chance of their granting him a penny against the Scots, and Charles in great indignation, at once dissolved the Parliament, which, having only sat six weeks, is known as the Short Parliament.

It was a great mistake, for the issue of the matter was still extremely doubtful; and there is reason to believe that Sir Harry Vane gave his advice in a treacherous spirit, meaning to do harm to the King's cause, and to benefit that of the Scots. All the council, however, voted for the dissolution except the Earls of Northumberland and Holland. Laud came in too late to hear the discussion, but he voted for the dissolution, and in the mood of the people, the obloquy of the whole fell on the Archbishop. A placard was set up on the old Exchange, inviting the London 'prentices to join in "hunting" William the Fox for breaking the Parliament, and a mob of 500 rabble attacked Lambeth palace, threatening to tear the Archbishop to pieces. The house was strong enough to resist the attack, but the King insisted on the Archbishop's taking refuge at Whitehall. Papers were affixed to the walls calling on the people to burn the Popish chapels, root out episcopacy, and bring to punishment Laud, Strafford, and Hamilton, as authors of all the grievances. Happily, there were heavy rains, and in the days when umbrellas were not, these were doubly efficacious in preventing tumultuous assemblages, so that no very violent disturbance happened, though houses of obnoxious persons were set fire to, and the flames could be seen from Whitehall. At last, six thousand men, who had been collected against the Scots, were brought up, the Queen was sent to Greenwich with a strong guard, and the rioters were put down. Two only were detained in prison and examined, it may be feared by torture, as to the names of the ringleaders, but they either did not know, or would not disclose them, and they suffered as traitors.

Convocation naturally breaks up at the same time as Parliament, but the clergy had promised six subsidies to the King, and the grant had to be completed. Moreover, a number of Canons had been prepared, some against the Arian doctrine of the Italian Socini, others chiefly connected with the discipline of the Church, where more definite rules were wanted. And as a sort of antidote to the Solemn League and Covenant an oath was drawn up to be taken by the clergy and all laymen of position, never to consent to any alteration in the government of the Church of England, by Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, *et cetera*.

The *et cetera* was only meant to avoid the repetition of a catalogue of minor ecclesiastical officials, but in the temper of the times, it was taken for a subterfuge for bringing in the Pope and all his Cardinals and there was a great disturbance, both on this subject and on the lawfulness of imposing such an oath, although there was no lack of precedents for it. It has been since known as the *et cetera* oath. It was also proposed to publish with authority a Pontifical, containing the specially episcopal services. Besides Confirmation, and the three Ordination services, it was to contain forms for coronations, and for the consecration

of churches, but the troubles of the time prevented the design from being carried out. This Convocation having continued after the dissolution of Parliament, its proceedings did not become law. There were signs that Laud's life was no longer secure. The Scottish Covenanters held assassination of the enemies of their faith to be lawful, and Laud received a letter from a gentleman, who said that while travelling in the north of England, he had heard hopes expressed that the fate of Buckingham was in store for Laud.

Dreading the attacks of the rabble, the High Commission met at Lambeth, and it was well they did so, for a mob broke into their court and tore down the benches, swearing they would have no Bishops and no Consistory.

Meantime the Bishops, who were of one mind with Laud, attempted to administer the oath, but such clergy as most needed to be restrained by it refused. Petitions poured in on the King from the counties against it, and the *et cetera*, a mere oversight, became another element in the general mistrust. Some Bishops did not mend the matter by trying to make their clergy take it on their knees; others did not venture to adminster it at all, and finally it was decided to defer it till the next Convocation. The loyal Bishops and clergy were so unpopular, and so much suspected of the bugbear of Popery, that the sums they contributed to the war with the Scots only made it more unpopular. And the ship-money and all other dues that could be collected without Parliament, were called in rigidly, although with increasing difficulty, and more and more resistance, people expecting by force of numbers to elude the prosecution that Hampden had undergone. The militia was called out, but the amount raised for pay was insufficient, and there was a stubborn resistance on the part of the men enrolled who were said to be as dangerous (or more so) to their own officers than to the enemy.

Some of the Dorsetshire men actually murdered their lieutenant, and threatened the other officers till they were allowed to disband themselves. A captain was also killed by the Devon contingent, on the suspicion of his being a Papist. Some could only bring their soldiers along by singing psalms with them "for all their religion lies in a psalm," and others were compelled by the soldiers' clamours to receive the Holy Communion as a test of their conformity. Where these disorderly men halted, they went into the churches, pulled up the altar rails, and burnt them before the clergyman's door, being in fact maddened by the persuasion that reducing the Scots simply meant bringing in Popery.

There was reason to suspect that the heads of the Puritans were all the time in communication with the Scots, but this failed of proof. At any rate the Scottish army quickly reassembled under Leslie at Dunglas, 20,000 foot, and 2,500 horse. The Scots Parliament voted supplies, and till those could be raised, contributions of money, plate, and provisions were volunteered. It was resolved not to give offence to the

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The Scots cross the Tweed.
1640.

English by doing them any damage, and the gudewives of Edinburgh supplied quantities of material for tents from the stores of home-spun drapery which were accumulating for their daughters' weddings, being thereto moved by a sermon "sweetly spoken" by Mr. Rollock. Cannon were made of tin, coated with leather, and corded round, two of these could be carried on a horse, and which could be fired four or five times before they came to pieces.

Thus equipped, the army passed the Tweed on the 20th of August, with Montrose leading the vanguard. All drew up on Newcastle Moor.

Lord Conway, whom Charles had made General of the Horse, was on the south side of the Tyne with 3,000 foot, and 1,500 horse. The two armies were opposite to one another, with the ford of Newburn between them, five miles from Newcastle. Leslie had made this move with great prudence. The possession of Newcastle was most important to him, but he preferred fighting a battle for it to taking it by storm, and thus awakening English dread and hatred of the Scots. On the English side the bank of the river was flat, on the Scottish it was steep, covered with rough scrubby bushes, and the village and church were on their side, a stout square short Norman tower where Leslie placed some musketeers, and he also concealed his leathern guns in the brushwood; but for many hours there was no attack on either side, and the Scots and English watered their horses on the opposite sides without doing one another any harm.

At last a Scottish gentleman with a black feather rode down, and while his horse was drinking fixed his eye critically upon the English entrenchments. Either in anger or merely to scare him away, some one fired, the black plume fell, and not only the musketeers began instantly to avenge his wound, but the roar of artillery burst forth from the copse-wood, to the surprise and dismay of the English, who had flattered themselves that the enemy were destitute of ordnance.

The Scots began to cross the river, Lord Conway's foot fled in confusion. Only a troop of gentlemen, well mounted and wearing breast-plates, held out, and they fought gallantly until they were overpowered and made prisoners with their captain, Lord Wilmot. It was the first skirmish of the Rebellion, *fought* on the 28th of August, 1640. Only sixty were slain.

The people of Newcastle were terrified to the last degree when the army fell back and left them to the mercy of the Scots. Great numbers fled, leaving their houses open, but the Scots were very forbearing, and though they quartered the men in the houses, and used the corn, cheese and beer, they paid for some, and gave bonds for the rest, nor was there any violence, though a heavy contribution was laid on the Mayor and corporation, and of course the royal stores of provisions and ammunition were seized without scruple.

Conway knew that he could not hold Durham, and fell back on Darlington where he met Strafford, and they joined the King at

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Council at York. 1640.

Northallerton, whence the whole Army retreated to York. There the Covenanters, still advancing, sent him a petition humbly worded, but intimating that they relied on the support of the English Parliament when their grievances were considered. The King on this asked for a statement of their demands, promising to lay it before the great council of peers, which he summoned to meet him at York on the 26th of September. Such a council was not without precedent, though only of many centuries back, and he hoped by this means to avert the assembly of the Commons, but in vain. The demands of the Scots were the same as ever, and twelve of the English peers, Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, Mulgrave, Say and Sele, Howard, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brooke and Paget presented a petition, strongly objecting to the Scottish war, to the *et cetera* oath, the employment of Roman Catholic officers, the bringing over of Irish soldiers, the ship-money, the Star Chamber, the tonnage and poundage, the intermission of parliaments. The like petition was sent up from the citizens of London although the Privy Council did their best to hinder it. The Yorkshire gentry, who had to contribute to the support of the army, followed suit; Strafford declared privately that loyal support could not be brought together under two months, and the King found there was no other alternative than to appoint a commission to examine into the Scottish grievances at Ripon, and at the same time to issue writs for the election of a new House of Commons to meet on the 3rd of November, 1640.

CAMEO XXVIII.

OPENING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

(1640—1641.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1637. Ferdinand III.	*Rome.*
1621. Philip IV.		1623. Urban VIII.

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The Long Parliament. 1640.

THE Long Parliament marks one of the great crises in the history of our country. The fifteen years of Charles's reign, added to the twenty three since his father's accession, had—alike by the evil and the good they had done—embittered all the relations between the crown and the people. The Tudors had been actually far more oppressive, but they had had the power of carrying the hearts of the people along with them, and the precedents they had left were simply dangerous. Even a succession of Henry Tudors would scarcely have been able to forge yokes for men of the English temper, such as had gradually been effected in France, for the material of the nation was far tougher, and more steadily determined, and ranks and classes were welded together in a manner utterly unknown in France, where nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, peasantry, magistracy, were all separate castes, scarcely ever interchangeable and never supporting one another; whereas, in England, persons born in the one class were continually passing into some one of the others, upwards or downwards.

When we find that Shakespeare made even such a country squire as Justice Shallow to have kept his terms at the Inns of Court, we see how the gentleman of the next generation came to be resolute on points of law, and could stand beside the actual lawyers in their resistance.

The whole course of the last century had been educating the country in a strong Calvinism, on behalf of which the conservativism of the people was enlisted. Romanism had shown itself in its most hateful light in the Marian persecution, the repeated attempts at assassination and the Gunpowder Plot; and the attempt to revive Catholicism was distrusted as a covert means of bringing back Popery. Far greater wisdom than churchman or statesman had yet acquired

was needed to understand that religious reforms enforced by the State only produce exasperation, not conviction. And thus, as the Church and the crown made common cause, they were equally attacked by the Puritan and the political reformer; although the former would have let the royal power alone save for the interference with his religion, and the latter had no enmity to the Church, so long as she did not borrow the secular arm.

Thus, throughout the country, the elections tended to the choice of members who would resist to the utmost those exactions, and those penalties and restrictions which had been felt as sore grievances both with respect to property and worship; and the members chosen came to Westminster with the determination to win the entire recognition of what they held to be morally and legally the rights of Englishmen, and to guard them from any future encroachment. Many of them little guessed how far they would be carried! In the elections, recommendations from the Court were absolutely prejudicial to the candidates; and scarcely a third of the returns were of gentlemen on whose support the King could reckon. Yet it was said that the wealth of the members of the House of Commons doubled that of the Peers. Only two of the King's servants, as persons holding office were called, obtained a seat, Sir Harry Vane, and Mr. Secretary Windebank, the latter of whom was much disliked, as being connected with the Archbishop. The speaker whom the King had intended to recommend to the House, Gardiner, the Recorder of London, lost his election, and the Commons chose Mr. Lenthall, a barrister, who was approved of by the King. He was supposed to be of no party, and he proved himself weak and irresolute. Petitions from all quarters against grievances were brought up by troops of gentlemen on horseback, to be laid before the two Houses.

The King, in manifestly low spirits, went down to Westminster by water, and opened Parliament on the 3rd of November, 1640. He made a speech in which he recommended three subjects to the consideration of the two Houses, namely, the removal of the rebels, the payment of the army, and the redress of grievances. The word "rebels" gave offence at once to those who chose to hold the Scots as subjects of another kingdom fighting for their privileges.

The Commons, being at last together, meant to prevent being separated until they had thoroughly gone into the grievances. The first thing they did after choosing Lenthall was to hold consultations. The lawyer Pym, with John Hampden and Oliver St. John, were looked on as leaders of what was called the Country party, because of their former resistance to the ship-money, and to them were added other men, highly displeased with the present state of things. There was Denzil Hollis, second son to the Earl of Clare, Nathaniel Fiennes, a younger son to the Puritan Lord Say, Lord Digby, a strange uncertain person, eldest son to the Earl of Bristol, and Sir Harry Vane's eldest son, who bore the same name and title as his father, it being the

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The Country Party.

practice to knight the heirs of baronets. He was an enthusiastic Puritan, and when only twenty, had joined the Pilgrim Fathers' settlement at Boston; but on being disappointed of being named governor, he came home and took a leading part in the new Parliament. Another member was Oliver Cromwell, son to an old family in the midland counties, who had pursued the trade of a brewer in Huntingdon, the only man then in England, except Strafford, of extraordinary abilities, though under his rugged and homely appearance these were not yet perceived. He was cousin to Hampden; and whereas Hampden was a moderate Puritanical churchman, Cromwell was enthusiastic in the most ultra-Calvinistic tenets, but did not hold with the Presbyters, and thus belonged to a new sect called Independents.

It is said that on one occasion a gentleman asked Hampden who that member was, with some disparaging remark on his personal appearance. "He is a sloven," said Hampden; "but if we come to a breach with the King, which God forbid, that sloven will be the first man in the kingdom." Members of Parliament seldom brought their households to London, as the sessions had hitherto been very short, and these gentlemen, with others of the same opinions, used to meet to dine at an ordinary, or dinner-table, at the house where Pym lodged, which served them for a sort of committee-room. Thither, too, resorted at this time, Edward Hyde, a barrister of high reputation; and Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, was another remarkable member. He was the son of that Lord Falkland who had been Lord Deputy in Ireland, and his peerage being Scottish, he was not disqualified for sitting in the English House of Commons. He had married Lettice Morison, a lady of great excellence, but of slender portion, and against the consent of his father, who had never forgiven him; but he had inherited a large fortune through other relations, and was independent. He was a small, slight man, of countenance not beautiful, but acute and thoughtful. He was by nature a student, and at his estate of Great Tew, ten miles from Oxford, he read deeply and widely, and gathered about him a society much given to philosophical speculation. All the most distinguished scholars resorted to Great Tew, so that it was said, "his house was a university in a less volume."

This tone of mind made Laud's strictness in doctrine and observance seem to him unjustifiably narrow and tyrannical, and the nature of the two men was so contrary, that Falkland was willing to head the attack on the Archbishop. The first thing the Commons did was to vote £100,000 for the pay of the English and Scottish armies, and moreover to invite the Scottish Commissioners, now sitting at Ripon, to come to London to carry on their treaty. Besides these Commissioners, there were sent four divines, one to satisfy the minds of the many who preferred the way of New England or Independency, to Scottish Presbyterianism, two to argue against Arminianism, to cry down the English ceremonies, and one to preach to the Commissioners in their own houses. The noblemen travelled post, but the ministers

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Scottish Commissioners.

were mounted on little nags, and were eight days coming from Durham to London, through roads foul and deep (being November) and finding inns which they thought like palaces, but extortionate in charges. Their coming created much excitement in London. The City requested them to become its guests, and a house was assigned them so close to the Church of St. Antholin that there was a private passage into it. Here the ministers preached, and there was an immense rush of people to hear them, the church being crowded from daylight to dark, by those who were anxious to secure seats, while those who could not get in hung about the doors and windows. Meantime forty sub-committees were formed to consider of the grievances of different kinds. Prynne, Bastwick, Leighton and Lilburn were sent for to have their sentences revised, and were escorted into London in triumph, attended by hundreds of carriages and thousands of horsemen, wearing in their hats sprigs of bay and rosemary.

The King was very anxious for the advice and support of Strafford, who was at York, at the head of the English army. The temper of the times was already seen to be perilous, and many persons strongly advised that the Earl should not put himself in jeopardy by appearing before the excited Parliament and citizens; but Charles declared himself capable of protecting his ministers, and Strafford, disdaining to disobey his master's summons from regard to his own safety, set forth to confront the peril. He arrived late in the evening of the 9th of November. On the 10th the House went into committee with closed doors, and held a consultation. In him was felt to lie the main strength and ability of the crown in opposing the demands to be put forward, and therefore there was a strong determination to overthrow him. Sir John Clotworthy, one of those Anglo-Irish whose petty tyrannies were restrained by his strong hand, being one of the most determined to press all charges against him to the utmost. It was resolved to impeach him before the Lords of high treason, Pym making a strong speech full of invective. Falkland declared that a committee ought to be appointed to decide on the grounds of the impeachment before it was made; but the majority were in far too great haste to secure him whom they considered their enemy, and on the 11th, Pym was sent to the Upper House with the accusation.

Strafford, being unwell with gout, had not gone thither till three in the afternoon. He was moving to his place as one of the Ministry when a clamour of voices bade him "void the house" and he was obliged to return to the door until he was called. Then he was bidden to kneel, which he did with pain and difficulty, and Thomas, Earl of Strafford, was impeached of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, and committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod until he should have cleared himself of them.

He said a few words, advising the Lords to take care for their own sakes how they permitted such a precedent to be established; but he was immediately silenced, and Sir James Maxwell, the usher, demanded

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Impeachment of Strafford. 1640.

his sword, and departed with him. The Scottish minister, Baillie, looked on as he made his way to his coach, "all men gazing, but no man capping him." When, with difficulty, the carriage had been found, Maxwell made his prisoner go in his own. Bail was applied for, but refused, and Strafford was sent to the Tower, while a committee began to collect charges against him.

Sir Francis Windebank, the Secretary, had, in the execution of his office, discharged sundry Roman Catholic priests and other recusants from prison, the King privately signing a pardon to secure him. This leniency was a serious offence in the eyes of the Commons, who were already enforcing all the persecuting laws to the utmost, and a prosecution was put in hand against him; but only the more fanatical were concerned that he escaped to the Continent in a small shallop, through a heavy fog. The Lord Keeper Finch and the nine judges who had established the legality of the demand for ship-money were next denounced. Finch pleaded his cause eloquently before the Commons, and moved some to tears, though the others sent up his impeachment to the Lords. He had been warned in time, and was out of their reach in Holland. Judge Berkeley was actually arrested as he sat on the bench in his robes, and he and the other eight were forced to find bail for their appearance to answer for high treason because they had decided, in a really doubtful question, against what the Commons willed should be the meaning of the law.

There was an equal frenzy of hatred against the Archbishop as against the Lord Lieutenant, partly because of his strict discipline, partly because the supreme power of the crown was upheld by the High Church party. On the 17th of November, the House of Commons attended at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and broke into the commencement of the Communion Service by giving out and singing a Psalm of their own choosing, nor would they communicate till the Holy Table had been brought down into the body of the church.

The Convocation, which had continued after the Short Parliament, was the head and front of the offence, and it was declared that to decree Canons and vote a benevolence without the consent of Parliament was treason. Moreover, the libellers were to be compensated for their imprisonment and the loss of their ears, out of the estates of the members of the Court of High Commission. In this commencement Lord Falkland was a leader actuated by his philosophical love of liberty of thought and speech.

Next Peter Smart, an old enemy of the good and gentle Dr. Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, and Canon of Durham, petitioned against him. His book of devotions had, by its regular forms and so-called Arminianism, already brought him into ill odour with the Puritans; he was, moreover, a great liturgical scholar who had brought Catholic practices back in his two Cathedrals. Therefore he was impeached as scandalous and superstitious, but the case broke down.

Sir Edward Dcering was the leader of the attack on Laud. He was

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Root and Branch. 1640.

no Puritan, and afterwards declared that he had all along much personal love for the Archbishop, and no personal malignity, but he was indignant at the severity with which a Kentish clergyman had been treated, and wished that the power of the metropolitan see should be abolished. He said he had rather have a Pope at Rome than a Patriarch at Lambeth, and hoped "before this year of threats run round, his grace will either have more grace or no grace at all."

The Parliament hoped to find an able leader against the Archbishop in Williams, whom on their own authority they released from prison. He was received in Westminster Abbey in a most complimentary manner by the Dean; but he would not serve the purposes of the Parliament by leading any attack against Laud. The City of London was, however, always strongly Puritanical, and on the 11th of December Alderman Pennington brought up an enormous petition with 15,000 names and 1,800 non-conformist ministers, against episcopacy itself, and almost all observances of Church ceremonies, and was called the Root and Branch Petition.

This was followed, on the same day, by another from the Scots Commissioners against the Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop, accusing the latter of making *novations* in their religion, forcing on them new canons and a new liturgy, wherein were many dangerous errors in doctrine. As we have seen, Laud had never done more than carry out requests from the Scottish Bishops; but these petitions became the text of monstrous invectives. Sir Harbottle Grimstone called the Archbishop "the sty of all that pestilential filth that hath infected the state and government of this commonwealth," partly because of his friendship with the Earl, and partly because of his advancement of Mainwaring, Montague, Pierce and Wren, "the last of all those birds, but the most unclean one." What a strange mood it was that could actuate a conscientious man thus to speak of one who was avowedly blameless and pious, and who at his worst had done nothing but enforce with resolution unpalatable discipline and ceremonies decreed by superior authority? The Commons voted the Archbishop a traitor; and Denzil Hollis was sent up to impeach him before the Lords. On the accusation of treason, Laud indignantly exclaimed that "not one of the Commons did believe it in his heart!" And assuredly not one did so, according to the old interpretation of treason, but his words excited anger, and he was committed to the custody of Sir James Maxwell, and placed at the bar of the House. He demanded permission to go back to Lambeth to fetch his papers, and this was granted, providing he dealt with them only in the presence of "Black Rod." So he went to his home late in the day for the last time, and Maxwell, who treated him with respect and kindness, let him attend evensong in his chapel, where he took comfort from the 93rd and 94th Psalms, and the 50th chapter of Isaiah. As he went down to the barge in waiting, the banks were thronged with poor, lamenting and calling down blessings upon him.

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Laud's Imprisonment. 1641.

On the 21st he was fined £500 for having kept as a prisoner a gentleman guilty of foul evil and vice. In fact, the more dissolute peers hated him for his severity upon their licentiousness. His two friends, Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Pierce, of Bath and Wells, were impeached a few days later, but were allowed to find heavy bail. For ten weeks Laud continued in Sir James Maxwell's house, his expenses being charged him at twenty nobles a day, but living with the family and receiving every civility. Lady Maxwell pronounced that "although he was but a silly fellow to converse with a lady, he was the most excellent and pious soul she had ever met with."

Bishop Williams attempted a compromise by bringing a bill *into* the Lords arranging that a Bishop should preach every Sunday or pay a penalty of £5, that he should have twelve assistants, four appointed by the King, four by the Lords, four by the Commons, and that on the vacancy of the See, these should choose three persons of whom one should be selected by the King, together with other measures meant to be popular, but which pleased no one.

Convocation had met as usual at the same time as Parliament, and Mr. Warmistrey, of Worcester, proposed to annul the acts of the former Convocation; but the motion found no favour, and the meeting melted away without being prorogued. Indeed, according to the Anabaptists, it was unnecessary, for, at a meeting in Southwark, eighty of this sect agreed that Queen Elizabeth's statute for the administration of Common Prayer was not law, because made by Bishops, and that the King kimself could not make a good law, because he was not perfectly regenerate.

Petitions were constantly presented against one or other of the country clergy for matters of doctrine or practice. The individual was immediately summoned to London, and waited there at heavy expense to himself and inconvenience to his parish till a Committee chose to look into his case.

Next the Commons took it on themselves to send Commissioners into the counties to destroy and remove out of all churches and chapels images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other relics of idolatry. Will Dowsing, one of these Commissioners, sent up reports of his work of sacrilege, which show that the mischief far exceeded that done in the days of Edward VI., and wherever there was an unpopular clergyman or lawless population, the rabble broke windows, tore surplices and Prayer-books, and interrupted the clergy in their ministrations.

The more moderate members began to take alarm. The Root and Branch Petition was made the subject of debate. Lord Digby said it was like a comet with its tail pointing to the north, portending nothing but confusion and anarchy; and Lord Falkland explained that he had never desired more than to seclude Bishops from temporal and secular offices and dignities, which rendered them less efficient as shepherds, but that he should resist to the utmost every attack upon the Order.

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Vote on the Root and Branch Petition.

Selden and Rudyard said the like. In fact, there was a just distinction in the minds of such men between Episcopacy, by which they meant the spiritual government and authority of Bishops, which they never meant to impugn, and Prelacy, by which they signified the temporal power and rank, of which men like Beaufort, Wolsey, and their own contemporary, Richelieu, availed themselves in so unsuitable a manner. Unfortunately Bishop Williams had shown himself a thorough specimen of the same character; and Laud, in his zeal for the dignity of the Church, had thought to exalt her by putting himself and Juxon into stations of State authority. There were many on both sides who thought Prelacy and Episcopacy one and the same; and, at any rate, most true Churchmen felt bound not to yield a single bulwark. The debate lasted two days; but there was a majority of thirty-two against the Churchmen, and the petition was referred to a Committee. The King, however, made known that nothing should induce him to consent to the overthrow of the Bishops; and on the other hand St. Antholin's rang with the preachings and prayers of the Scots against what they termed an unscriptural Church; indeed, they went so far that they roused the English spirit against their attempting to dictate, and had to draw back a little.

The King meantime looked on in distress and dismay at the way in which authority was taken out of his hands, and all that he loved and reverenced most thus attacked. He felt himself paralysed by the two armies, Scotch and English in the north. He could obtain no means, and was obliged to pawn his plate for the supply of his table, and he was afraid to make any decided movement one way or the other, lest he should bring down the vengeance of his enemies upon Laud and Strafford, who were like hostages in their hands; but Henrietta hoped to further his cause by a succession of private interviews with the chiefs of the party hostile to Strafford. She described herself as giving a rendezvous every evening to one or other of what she termed the most *méchant* of the enemies, admitting him by the back-stairs to the empty apartment of some absent lady of honour, meeting him alone with a flambeau in her hand, and making all sorts of offers if Strafford might be spared; but she considered herself to have gained over nobody but Lord Digby, and she probably did much more harm than good.

She had entertained grand hopes of Spanish marriages for her eldest son and daughter, but her mother, Marie de Medici, had, during her residence in Holland, promised the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, to bring about a match between his son William and one of her granddaughters. A deputation of nobles arrived to make proposals for the little Lady Mary, and though at first reluctant, Charles thought this an excellent opportunity of proving his Protestantism, and accepted the proposal. The bridegroom was fifteen years old, the bride ten. It was stipulated that he should come to London for the marriage; but that she should remain for two years longer with her parents, that she

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Treaty of marriage for Mary.

should then repair to Holland, and be allowed free exercise of the rites of the English Church, retaining English attendants to the number of twenty-six. Her father was to give her a portion of £40,000, and her jointure as a widow was to be £10,000 a year, with two princely houses, one at the Hague and one in the country. All these arrangements proved very important, not only to Mary but to all her family. The King had recourse to Parliament for the promised portion, and the Protestant alliance being satisfactory, it was voted without difficulty.

It was not so much on saving money that the House of Commons was set, as on establishing their power, and ruining those whom they viewed as their enemies.

CAMEO XXIX.

TRIAL OF STRAFFORD.

(1641.)

England.		*France.*
1625. Charles I.	*Germany.*	1610. Louis XIII.
Spain.	1637. Ferdinand III.	*Pope.*
1621. Philip IV.		1625. Urban VIII.

Attack on Strafford.

STRAFFORD had been impeached without any special charge, and two secret committees, one of Peers, the other of Commons, were appointed to collect evidence and get up a case against him; both being chosen from his adversaries.

An order was made by the Lords that the Earl of Ranelagh, Lord Ditton and Sir Adam Loftus, all state-officers in Ireland, should be summoned as witnesses, licence being demanded from the King for them to leave their charges for the purpose. He could not refuse it, any more than he could the other demand, that his privy councillors should be released from their oaths to disclose nothing that passed at the council board, since a refusal would only have excited suspicion. To prevent Strafford from profiting by the witness of his friends, Sir George Radclyffe, Doctor Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and Chief Justice Sir Gerard Lowther were impeached for contravening the ancient customs of Ireland. Moreover, the prisoner only received permission to summon witnesses three days before the trial began, far too short a time for bringing them from Ireland.

The Commons further demanded that no person created a peer since the impeachment should vote on the trial, thus excluding Lord Keeper Littleton. They also demanded that the bishops should not vote in the matter, though the constitutions of Clarendon had stipulated that they should be among the judges in questions of life and limb, and they could have maintained their right had not Bishop Williams requested permission for himself and his brethren not to assist *in agitatione causæ sanguinis*. He was an enemy of Strafford, and well knew that the majority of the Bench would weigh in the other direction.

The trial began on the 22nd of March, 1641, in Westminster Hall,

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Charges against Strafford.

before the Peers, the Commons, however, being present. Two private boxes behind the throne were prepared for the King and Queen, covered with tapestry screens to conceal them, but Charles with his own hands tore this away, so as to be perfectly visible, in the hope that his presence might be some restraint; but he was treated as incognito, and the Lords sat covered. There were also two galleries, where sat some foreign noblemen, including the French Ambassador, and a good many ladies deeply interested, "fair Sempronias taking notes," as the parliamentary historian May called them. One third of the hall was railed off for the public. Baillie, the Scottish Commissioner, was present, and tells us that to secure a place among the spectators, it behoved to be there by five in the morning—when it could have been scarcely daylight—and, if the seat was relinquished there was no returning, so that "after ten there was much public eating, not only of confections, but of bread and flesh, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups," so that there was "not such gravity" as he expected in so serious a cause, and in the King's presence.

The prisoner was escorted from the Tower by six barges of armed guards, and brought in each morning at nine o'clock. He made three obeisances to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord High Steward, knelt at the bar, rose and bowed to the right and left to the Peers, his friends returning the bow. His children—two girls and a boy—sat near him with their stepmother. The impeachment was then read. It consisted of twenty-eight chief articles, and occupied two hundred sheets of paper. This, with a brief and dignified reply, occupied the first day. The charges were all based on his high-handed exercise of power on behalf of the Crown in Yorkshire and in Ireland, and not a single one of them, if proved, would have amounted to treason, for, as Strafford observed, a hundred white rabbits could never make a white horse. The strong man stood like a lion in the toils, no one mesh strong enough to hold him, yet all together forming a fatal entanglement.

On the second day, Pym made a long speech, and a petition from the Irish enemies was presented. Witnesses from Ireland were produced, complaining of the Earl's proceedings. The prisoner was allowed counsel, though he and they did not even know beforehand on what charge the day's accusation would be founded; but he was permitted to examine the witnesses, and he did so with great calmness, judgment, and temper, obtaining great respect and admiration for his ability, even from his enemies, disproving some charges, showing the royal warrant for many of his doings, and finding precedents for others. Any member of the House of Commons might question him; but two barristers named Glynne and Maynard chiefly conducted the prosecution. However, they made little or no progress. The sight of one man standing at bay against the Parliament and the three nations was striking in itself, and as his shield of honest loyalty made one weapon after another fall blunted, the hearts of many were turned towards him; the ladies in the galleries declared themselves his

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Notes of Sir Harry Vane.

partisans, the clergy thought more of his danger than of the Archbishop's, more peers returned his salute every day, and the very rabble in the streets grew more respectful.

So thirteen days had passed, and his enemies were feeling themselves baffled, when, on the 10th of April, Mr. Pym told the Commons that he had something important to communicate to them. They went into committee and locked the doors, and Pym then produced a copy of some notes, purporting to have been taken at the privy council by the elder Sir Harry Vane. According to these jottings, Strafford had told the King that he would be acquitted of using force, and that he had an army in Ireland which would reduce this kingdom to obedience, for the Scots could not hold out five months.

As to how these notes were obtained, there are different stories—one being that young Vane turned over his father's papers and abstracted them, the other that Sir Harry put them in his way on purpose to injure Strafford; but the latter is very unlikely, as Sir Harry remembered very little as to what he meant by the abbreviated notes. Privy councillors were sworn to reveal nothing that passed among them, and the whole matter was so discreditable that, though Pym had, it seems, been in possession of the notes for several months past, he durst not employ them till, finding the tide turning in favour of the man he so bitterly hated, he brought them forward as a last resource to influence the passions of the people, who thought of nothing with so much horror as a horde of Irish Papists let loose on them.

On the 12th of April, the charge thus discovered was brought against the prisoner in Court. Strafford replied by demanding that the other members of the Council should be asked whether he had used the words ascribed to him. Six had been present besides Laud, a prisoner in the Tower, and Windebank, a fugitive in France, and not one of them recollected this piece of advice. Strafford represented that the law required at least two witnesses in a case of high treason, and Vane scarcely amounted to one witness, for he did not recollect whether the "kingdom" to be reduced had been Scotland or England, and no one could call speaking of reducing Scotland treason to England.

Though ill and suffering, Strafford made his defence ably. "It is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown," he said; and after eloquently proving the danger alike to the councillors and to the welfare of the country, that would ensue from making a man accountable for confidential advice, he thus concluded: "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me," and as he pointed to the children, his voice was choked with tears. "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity wounds me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to

CAMEO XXIX — *Bill of Attainder.*

be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be for life or death, '*Te Deum laudamus.*'"

Many of the hearers were deeply touched by this appeal; but the Scots and their friends, ready to believe anything against the prisoner, actually had a story that his wife had died in consequence of his faithlessness and violence.

Pym and Glynn were firmly resolved against him, and perceiving that he was making more and more impression on the Peers, they decided on changing their mode of assault, and bringing in a bill of attainder against him of treason against the liberties of the country, which should be then sent up to the Lords, to be simply accepted or refused, instead of giving the opportunity of sifting the evidence step by step. The opposition to this monstrous arrangement was stronger than had been expected, for many men who dreaded and hated Strafford, perceived that it was shamefully unjust to accuse him of subverting liberties whose bounds nobody knew; and honourable men were disgusted by the younger Vane's treachery, and his father's shuffling. Lord Digby made a powerful speech against the measure, but party was too strong, and it was further known that the City of London would give no money till Strafford was found guilty. On the 21st of April, the bill was passed by 204 to 54, and those who voted against it had their names placarded in the streets as "Straffordians, who, to save a traitor, were willing to betray their country."

The Lords had during this time gone on with the trial as if they knew nothing of the proceedings in the Lower House, and Strafford had made another of those nobly upright and pathetic speeches, the conclusion of which was, that were it not for his children, "I should never takes the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage of mine. I could never leave the world at a fitter time, when I hope the better part of the world thinks that by this my misfortune, I have given testimony of this my integrity to my God, my King, and my country. My lords, something more I had to say, but my voice and my spirits fail me. Only in all submission, I pray that I may be a pharos to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put rocks in your way, which no prudence, no circumspection can eschew. Whatever your judgment may be shall be righteous in my eyes. *In Te Domine confido, non confundar in æternum.*"

The bill of attainder was sent to the Upper House on the afternoon of the day it was passed, but it was not very well received, and Charles wrote the following note to the prisoner.

"STRAFFORD,

"The misfortune which is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs. Yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you, now, in the midst of all your troubles, that upon the word of a king,

you shall not suffer in life, honour or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed yourself to be, yet inasmuch as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being

"Your constant faithful friend,

"*Whitehall, April 23rd*, 1641. CHARLES R."

Charles was indeed hoping to find means to save the Earl. He proposed to transfer Strafford to another prison, under the charge of one hundred soldiers who might let him be rescued on the way. But Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower, refused to obey the royal warrant, or to admit the soldiers.

Another plan was the Queen's, and was founded on the fact that the English army stationed at York, not only contained many officers devoted to the King, but that it was highly discontented that the sums raised with a good deal of difficulty were unequally divided between them and the Scots, who received the lion's share. Two of the gentlemen who belonged to the Queen's household had commands in the army, and she hoped they would bring it over to the King. These were George Goring and Arthur Wilmot, both brave men but very dissipated, and the former utterly untrustworthy. There was, however, a dispute between them, and the King determined to send an equerry, Harry Jermyn, to compose matters. The Queen was fond of Jermyn, who had been in her service ever since she landed in England, and the Puritans invented a good deal of scandal about his devotion to her service; but as he was twenty-six years her elder, and was in favour with the King, there is no ground for suspicion as to their relations. On this occasion Henrietta was unwilling that he should go. She called him into her cabinet, and told him the reason, namely, that if the Parliament got an inkling of the scheme, they would instantly drive out all her confidential servants from her household.

The King entered at that moment, and said playfully, "If the thing is done, he must do it, and when you learn why, you will be of my mind."

Then she told her fears, but the King said that Goring and Wilmot would listen to nobody except Jermyn, who accordingly was despatched to arrange that the army should march on London, liberate Strafford, disperse the Parliament and restore the King's authority. But when Goring found that he was not to have the chief command, but that it would be restored to Strafford, he pretended to agree to the scheme, and really betrayed it to the Earl of Newport, who made it known to the Parliament.

Their indignation was extreme at what was known as "the Army Plot." They held that it was their army, and that the King was intriguing to beguile it from them. Charles, on the other hand, viewed it as his army, over which he had the sole right, and which he was free to use against a set of traitors who were bringing about the judicial murder of the man most loyal to the Crown.

Demands were immediately made that none of the Queen's house-

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—
Attempts to save Strafford.

hold should be permitted to leave Whitehall. Then Charles and Henrietta knew they were betrayed, but they never suspected Goring, who had a manner apparently frank and free. Jermyn fled to France, Wilmot and some other officers attempted to do so, but were arrested; and a letter was sent from the two Houses promising the soldiers their arrears. The Puritan ministers made use of this plot to infuriate the people. Dr. Burges, Rector of St. Magnus, actually marched at the head of a violent rabble, clamouring for Strafford's death and the abolition of bishops. "These are my Pan dogs," he said; "I can set them on and take them off!"

Charles had still another hope for his friend. He offered Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, to give up to him the disposal of all the great offices of State, provided Strafford's life might be spared. Bedford consulted his friends, all of whom except the Earl of Essex agreed to it; but on the 1st of May, Bedford died suddenly, and his place as leader of the Lords was taken by Lord Say, who, either foolishly or treacherously, induced the King to send for the two Houses and to make them a speech, in which he told them that, as long as they proceeded according to law, he had let the law take its course, but by bringing in the bill of attainder they made him a judge, and therefore he must tell them that Strafford had never advised him to use the Irish army against England, nor to look on his English subjects as disloyal. Therefore he should not condemn the Earl for treason, nor pass the bill of attainder if it were brought up to him, though he would consent to deprive him of public employment for life. He besought the Lords to find some middle course, which might keep the kingdom safe, without doing violence to his conscience.

To the Commons this seemed an invasion of their newly invented privileges, and there was a howl of wrath. All the ensuing Sunday, the Puritan preachers poured forth bloodthirsty sermons, and on Monday the mob rose to the number of 6,000, and surged down the streets towards Westminster, shouting for justice against Strafford, whom they fancied bringing gangs of wild Irishmen to cut their throats. They paraded before Whitehall, and beset and insulted every one whom they supposed to be friendly to their victim, so that the more timid were actually kept from the House.

The general fury was increased by Pym, who had raked up a story that the Queen was sending for a French army to coerce the country; and in the City there were reports current that Guernsey and Jersey had been seized, and Portsmouth taken! One Mr. Maynard, a member of the House of Commons, drew up a bond, which every one present signed, to protect the King and Parliament against all plots and conspiracies. Indeed, such was the general excitement that when a seat broke down with a loud crack, beneath the united weight of the two stout county members for Sussex and Cornwall, there was a general alarm, one gentleman cried out that he smelt gunpowder; and the people in the lobby rushed out crying that Westminster Hall was falling

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Strafford's letter.

and the members were being slain. The report reached the City, and the train bands marched out under Colonel Mainwaring, with beat of drum, to come to the rescue.

But there seems to have been little or no laughter over the false alarm. Men's minds were in too stern and angry a state for mirth, and the demonstration only told against the prisoner. The very day after the marriage of the little Princess Mary with the young William of Nassau, the mob broke into Westminster Abbey and pillaged the ornaments. The Queen was continually in tears, and her mother, Marie de Medici, was in an agony of fright, the King well nigh in despair.

In the midst the prisoner himself wrote to the King. He seems to have made up his mind that it would be better that—however unjustly—he should die constitutionally, with the sanction of the King, than that the fury of the people should overcome the royal authority, and perhaps involve the crown itself in his destruction. He therefore freely offered his life to restore agreement between his master and the people. "Sir," he wrote "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done, and as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you I can give the life of this world with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgments of your exceeding favours; and only beg that, in your goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor son, and his two sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than as their (in present) unfortunate father, I may hereafter appear more or less guilty of this death. God long preserve your majesty."

The House of Lords only numbered forty when the bill of attainder was discussed, half the number that had attended the trial. Out of these forty, a majority voted that two charges had been proved—namely, that Strafford had quartered soldiers on peaceable inhabitants without lawful cause, and that he had imposed of his own authority an illegal oath on Scotsmen dwelling in Ireland. Then the judges were consulted, and they gave their opinion that these offences amounted to treason, and therefore merited death, and yet this treasonable quartering of the soldiery consisted of one serjeant and four men, and no one appeared to prove it!

The number who passed the bill was twenty-six to eighteen. The men who might have saved the Earl were kept away by terror of the mob, and the twenty-six hated him with bitter hatred. The Earl of Essex replied to Edward Hyde, who interceded for Strafford, "Stone dead hath no fellow."

They held that Strafford, if still alive, might be brought to the front again, and would destroy all their work, and though every reasonable man among them knew that his condemnation was a monstrous act of injustice, they acted out of the precaution of terror.

The King's consent was still wanting, and the Commons requested

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The King's Assent.

the Lords to join with them in demanding it. A deputation of peers was named to carry up the request, and they were escorted by a whole rabble, certainly not less than 2,000, shouting "Justice, justice; we will have justice!" and filling the courts of Whitehall with their howls. The privy council was called to repress these traitorous acts, but they only replied by urging the King to consent as the only way of safety. He declared that he must wait until Monday to consider the matter, and a minister looking out of a window told the mob that the King had promised to go on Monday to the House of Lords and give his consent. This induced them to disperse, but the Sunday that ensued was a time of tribulation and anguish, the preachers inflaming the people, who were frenzied enough already, and all manner of strange reports flying about. One of them was that Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, declared that if the King would not free the kingdom from its present danger, he should have Strafford's head stricken off on his own authority.

The King was in utter despair. He sent for the Bishops to ask their opinion. Not many were within reach, but of these, Juxon of London, a brave, straightforward man, told him that no danger, no expediency, could justify the shedding the blood of a man whom he knew to be innocent. Happy would it have been for Charles had he held to that opinion, even though the crash had come at once! But Williams of Lincoln, in courtly phrase, declared that there were two consciences for Kings, public and private, and that the public, royal conscience, might do that which the private, human conscience, disapproved—that the question was, not whether of saving Lord Strafford, but of perishing with him; that the conscience of a King to preserve his subjects, a father to save his children, a husband his wife, all of whom were in danger, ought to outweigh the feelings of master to a servant or friend to friend! Usher of Armagh, Morton of Durham, and one more Bishop recommended the King to abide by the opinion of the Judges—no one but Juxon had the courage to bid the King trust to his own sense of right and justice.

As to the Judges, they would say nothing but that the case of Strafford, as submitted to them by the Lords, amounted to treason. Charles could get no supporter, save the Bishop of London, to strengthen his better self; his wife was high spirited and not easily terrified, but she had never loved Strafford; and her mother was in agonies of terror, unable to comprehend the King's scruples; and he was told that if he satisfied the people by his consent, the Lords might still find means to save Strafford's life.

Late in the evening, then, not without tears, Charles did the deed which he never ceased to grieve over with bitter repentance. He put his name to a commission to give his assent to the bill of attainder, exclaiming, in the very act, that Strafford was far happier than he. Another bill, of fatal import, was sent up at the same time, to which he gave consent, scarcely attending to it in his grief, namely, that the

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The condemnation.

existing Parliament should only be dissolved with its own consent, a measure said to be necessary in order to give confidence to those who advanced money for the payment of the army. He also promised to dismiss that bugbear the Irish army. No relenting followed on the part of the Houses, and Charles made one more effort, by sending his young son, the Prince of Wales, to the Lords with a letter pleading for mercy to Strafford, on condition even of perpetual imprisonment, and a postscript was added, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday."

As the power of life or death lay in Charles's own hands, this was a miserable confession of weakness, but it seems this was done with the advice of Denzil Holles, whose sister was Strafford's third wife. Through her, the prisoner had been told that his life should be saved in the interval, provided he would induce the King to abolish episcopacy; but this Strafford utterly refused, and it seems likely that Holles may have made the proposal simply to satisfy his sister. At any rate, the Parliament would not hear of any delay. Though they had told the King, by way of recompense for dismissing the Irish, that they would make him as glorious a potentate and as rich a prince as any of his predecessors, they would not grant even this concession.

Almost broken-hearted, and conscious of the full extent of his wretched feebleness and betrayal of friendship, the King sent Sir Dudley Carleton to Strafford to tell him what he had done, and his own motives, adducing especially the willing manner in which the Earl had offered himself, and asking his forgiveness.

Strafford, too strong and resolute a man readily to credit or understand weakness, asked whether the King had really passed the bill, and when he heard that it was indeed so, he rose from his chair, laid his hand on his heart, and, lifting his eyes to Heaven, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for there is no salvation in them."

This is told by Whitelock, a contemporary historian; but, strangely enough, Dr. Carte, who wrote in the next reign, denies it on the authority of Strafford's son, who asserted that he had heard him, on the last night of his life, declare that he had never written to offer his life, and maintained that such letter must have been a forgery. But young Lord Wentworth was born in 1626, and was scarcely thirteen at the time of his father's death, nor was he ever a very trustworthy person. The existence of the letter is certain, and there is no other reason to believe that it was a forgery. Strafford also begged that the Earl of Ormond might have the Garter he left vacant; but Ormond advised the King to give it rather to one whose loyalty might need to be propitiated by such honours.

Twelve noblemen carried back Charles's letter to him on the Tuesday, and told him it was their purpose to beg him to show mercy to the Earl's innocent children. Of this he took little notice, only telling them that "if they knew his mind, he hoped they would use it to their own honour."

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The Execution.

On Wednesday, the 12th of May, the Earl was to die. On Tuesday he sent for Archbishop Usher, Primate of Ireland, requesting likewise that he might once more see his friend, Archbishop Laud, a prisoner likewise in the Tower; but, even though he would have been present and heard all, the Lieutenant said this could not be without special permission from Parliament, and this Strafford would not ask, saying he would petition none but a higher Power. But he begged Usher to carry a message from him to entreat the prayers of Laud, and beg him to be "at the window to give me his blessing as I go abroad to-morrow, that, when I pass, by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this and all his former favours."

When morning came, after a night of prayer and preparation, Strafford walked forth, and, turning to Laud's window, made his solemn and earnest farewell, while the Archbishop stretched forth his hands in blessing, but, exhausted with grief and watching, fell back in a fainting fit, just hearing his friend's words, "Farewell, my lord. May God protect your innocency."

Then the Earl moved on. The mob stood in such multitudes about the gates and on Tower Hill that Sir William Balfour feared he might be torn in pieces, and would have him take coach. "No," said he, "I dare look death in the face, and the people too. Have you a care I do not escape. 'Tis equal to me how I die—by the stroke of the executioner, or the madness and fury of the people, if that may give them better content."

And thus, as an eye-witness declared, he walked forth more like a general at the head of an army than a victim on the way to his doom. The populace who had clamoured for his blood, were hushed in awe and wonder at the noble figure, as he came, attended by Archbishop Usher, the Earl of Cleveland, and his brother, Sir George Wentworth. As he mounted the scaffold, he turned to the last-mentioned. "Brother," he said, "what do you see in me to deserve these tears? Think you are again accompanying me to my wedding. Never did I throw off my clothes with greater freedom and content."

He made a short speech to the people, telling them that it had been his ill-hap to be misconstrued, and advising every man among them to lay his hand on his heart and consider whether the beginning of a people's happiness should be written in letters of blood. He feared they were in a wrong way, and prayed God that no drop of his blood might rise up against them.

Then he spent a quarter of an hour in prayers from the Prayer-book, repeating the whole twenty-fifth psalm; then, after another interval of private prayer, he laid his head on the block, gave the signal, and died at the first stroke of the axe. He was in his forty-ninth year. While the people, waking from their involuntary hush of awe and reverence, went home waving their hats and crying, "His head is off! his head is off!" Usher repaired to the miserable King, and declared to him, "that though he had seen many die, he never saw so white a soul return to its

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A description of London.

Maker;" and Charles vowed that if ever he had the power, a day of penance for the innocent blood should be appointed, and indeed he privately kept up penance for his friend's death until his own. He was personally brave enough, and had it been his own life alone that was in peril, no doubt he would have been firm; but he was too weak to set a positive wrong against the possible consequences of right, so he acted Pilate's part, and then went mourning all the days of his life.

Richelieu pronounced the English a foolish people not to let the wisest head among them stay on its own shoulders. The sagacious Frenchman would have spoken more to the purpose if he had called Charles a foolish King, for had he leant as passively on Strafford as Louis XIII. did on Richelieu, the Crown would have been as mighty as under the Tudors; and it was this perception that made the determined advocates of liberty begin their work by sweeping from their path, by a judicial murder, the man whose principles were diametrically opposite to their own, and who would maintain them with consummate ability, generous loyalty, and unflinching firmness.

One last glance at England after the internal peace she had enjoyed for nearly two years is afforded to us by the secretary of the Marquis de Fertè Imbaud, the French ambassador, who came in 1641, apparently to remonstrate against the renewed persecution of the Roman Catholics.

The secretary, whose name is not known, was lodged with the Marquis at Greenwich, whence the royal carriages conveyed them. He thought them better appointed and handsomer than those of Louis XIII., and he was extremely struck with the beauty and fertility of the country, and the general air of comfort and prosperity. London had, he says, the longest streets, the most splendid taverns, and the greatest number of shops of any city in Europe. He confessed that it surpassed Paris in cleanliness and safety "since every one may walk about at dead of night with his pipe and his purse in his hand, and fear neither filth nor assassins!" What must Paris have been?

So covered was the Thames with barges, as to seem to him "like a continued bridge, or rather the representation of a sea-fight, such are the admirable swiftness and dexterity of their movements." Lower down, between London and Rochester, he counted 850 vessels, either of war or merchandise. The largest ship in the navy was there, *The Sovereign of the Sea*, having 112 guns, and covered with paintings, carvings, gildings and bas-reliefs. The haunt of the gentlemen was Piccadilly, then a park-like place, where they disported themselves without cloak or sword, filling the air with the odour of tobacco, from which they did not abstain even at the theatre or in the presence of ladies.

Their principal games were tennis, bowls and piquet, in which they often fell victims to Parisian sharpers. Bull and bear baitings delighted the secretary, but were not apparently the fashion at Court. The ladies spent such sums in dress as amazed him, and still more upon bets, thirty

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Journey to Scotland.

or forty Jacobuses being sometimes laid on the event of a siege or a battle in Germany. Little did the triflers guess how soon sieges and battles would be no longer distant excitements.

The banqueting hall at Whitehall seemed to the secretary the grandest room in Europe, and he also greatly admired the royal apartments in the Tower, where he saw wonderful tapestries of gold brocade, the sword presented to Henry VIII. as Defender of the Faith, and Queen Elizabeth's cup, four feet high and a foot and a half in diameter, enriched with thousands of figures and devices.

Queen Marie de Medici had an interview with the ambassador; but she had only one carriage to send for him, and that very ill-appointed. In fact, Charles had been obliged to curtail her pension, and the mob was so furious against her that she had made up her mind to return to Holland; and her daughter had some thoughts of accompanying her, and taking the waters of Spa. The Parliament however suspected intrigues, and petitioned that she should remain, when they voted £10,000 to be rid of her mother.

The treaty with the Scots was at last concluded, and signed in May, 1641, the English Parliament undertaking to pay £300,000 towards their losses and necessities, for which purpose a poll-tax was voted. When the King assented to it, he announced his intention of making a second visit to Scotland without loss of time. He knew there were men there, of whom the Earl of Montrose was the most distinguished, who thought that the Covenanters had gone too far, and were ready to support a reaction. Letters from Montrose were captured, in which it appeared that he and nineteen more noblemen were ready to assist the King in subverting "the designs of a few." Montrose and three more were in consequence thrown into the Castle at Edinburgh, and the King's intended journey was viewed with great suspicion.

Very unpleasant petitions were brought to him. He was begged to wait till the army was disbanded, lest ill-disposed persons should disturb the peace of the kingdom. The Queen was to be allowed no attendance either of Roman Catholic priests or ladies native to the country, and she and her children were to be closely attended by persons of public trust and well affected to religion, while she resided in Oatlands, in Surrey, during the King's absence; and Father Philips, her confessor, was examined and committed to the Tower.

On the 10th of August, Charles started for Scotland, taking in his own coach the young Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Duke of Lennox, who had been brought into the English peerage by the title of Duke of Richmond. All three shared the royal blood of Scotland.

The Earl of Essex remained as commander of the forces on the south side of the Trent, and that which had so long lain at York was disbanded. The Parliament had appointed a set of Commissioners, including the Earl of Bedford, Hampden, and Fiennes, to watch over

the ratification of the treaty with the Scots; but the King, knowing that they only meant to clog his proceedings, refused to sign the Commission, but could not prevent some of them from going on their own account.

He had a prosperous journey. He dined with Leslie in his camp, and was well received at Edinburgh, where he appointed Henderson as his Chaplain, and attended the Presbyterian worship at St. Giles's. He made a speech to the Scottish Estates which assembled to meet him, claiming their allegiance as the descendant of a hundred and eight kings, in whose former existence they, as well as he, firmly believed, for were not all their portraits on the walls of Holyrood? And he offered to ratify the acts of their last Session in the ancient fashion by the touch of the sceptre; but the Covenanters, fearful of the precedent, declared them valid without this.

The next point was the appointment of the ministry who were the virtual rulers of Scotland. This the Estate Parliament arrogated to themselves, and Charles would not yield, though he submitted a list to them for approval, and there was a struggle over these, name by name, one by one. A gentleman wrote: "What will be the event of these things, Heaven knows, for there never was King so much insulted over. It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks, for he is never at quiet among them, and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him, yet he is seeming merry at meat."

He was very anxious too about Montrose, Traquair, and the other gentlemen who were imprisoned in the castle for corresponding with their lawful King; but whom the Estates branded with the title of banders, plotters and incendiaries, and he was determined not to leave them to their fate. One of the grooms of his chamber, William Murray, had interviews with Montrose in his captivity, and brought letters from him to the King.

This excited suspicion, and Montrose was well known to be at enmity with both Hamilton and Argyll. On the 10th of October, all Edinburgh was astir at the tidings that these two noblemen, with Hamilton's brother, the Earl of Lanark, had fled to Kineil during the night, in dread of an attempt of the King on their liberty, if not their lives.

Charles was indignant. He repaired to the Parliament house, complained of the insult, demanded that the three should return, and that a public inquiry should be made.

There are only confused reports of what ensued on this *Incident* as Scottish historians termed it. There were ten days of hot, informal recrimination, the King insisting that the inquiry should be made by the whole house, not by a mere committee, in which he should get no fair play, and neither his honour nor those interested could have right.

But he could not prevail. The Committee was appointed, and demanded the correspondence between Montrose and the King. In

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Tidings from Ireland. 1641.

the last letter Murray had carried, Montrose declared "that he could acquaint his Majesty with a business which not only did concerne his honour, in a heigh degree, but the standing and falling of his Croune lykwayes."

Montrose was examined on the meaning of these words, but he persisted in declaring that, he only meant the peace and quiet of the public, and would never wrong nor accuse any individual whatsomever.

Nothing at all was made out farther, but there was increasing need of the King's return, for at this very juncture tidings arrived of a terrible rebellion in Ireland.

CAMEO XXX.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

(1641—1642.)

England.
1625. Charles I.

Germany.
1637. Ferdinand III.

France.
1610. Louis XIII.

Spain.
1621. Philip IV.

Pope.
1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXX. — *Irish disaffection.* 1641.

IRELAND had never been so quiet or so prosperous as under Strafford's administration, during which the Roman Catholics were free from molestation, and the English were withheld from violence and oppression.

Changes however set in when he was recalled. The men to whom the Government was entrusted as Lords Justices were Sir William Parsons, already known for his rapacity, and Sir John Borlase, Master of the Ordnance, a mere soldier, both in sympathy with the English Parliament. The Puritan denunciations against Popery, and the persecution renewed in England against the Romanists, created a great alarm in Ireland; and at the same time the Scottish successes encouraged the belief that a rising in arms might be the means of gaining all that was desired. If Presbyterianism had won its way by a League and Covenant, why should not Romanism do the same?

A large number of priests had come to Ireland, and many young men who had been sent abroad for education. Both alike dreaded the revival of the penal laws, and fear and hope alike led to a resolution to break out into open resistance after the Scottish example. Tyrone's son, with many others of their countrymen, were in the Spanish service, ready to assist any enterprise against the English, and Cardinal de Richelieu was always ready to foment any disturbance that could weaken the English power.

The chief mover in the scheme was Rory, or, as the English called him, Roger, O'More of Ballynagh, in county Kildare. He was descended from a family who had been dispossessed with much cruelty from Leix; but he was allied to English families, and was a well-educated gentleman, one of those brilliant and attractive persons always to be found at the outset of an Irish rebellion, and extremely

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Plot of Rory O'More.

beloved, so that the Irish saying was, that hope lay in God, our Lady and Rory O'More.

Sir Phelim O'Neil of Kinard had been educated by his guardians as a Protestant, and had studied at Lincoln's Inn; but he had returned to the Romish Church, and as he was the nearest in blood to the childless Earl of Tyrone in the Spanish service, he was looked on by the O'Neils as their head. To these was added Richard Plunkett, who held the rank of Colonel in the Spanish army in Flanders.

In February, 1641, just after the imprisonment of Strafford, Rory O'More repaired to Connor, Baron Macguire, a man who held an English pension in compensation for the reduction of the family estates in Enniskillen, but who was dissipated and discontented. According to the account he afterwards gave, Rory O'More suggested to him that the disturbed state of England was the fit opportunity for an Irish insurrection; and then, in a meeting with several more Irish gentlemen of Ulster then in Derry, it was agreed that each should communicate with his own friends, and send tidings to the Irish in Spain and Flanders of the day on which the rising should be made, so that they might be there in time with arms and ammunition. The time was to be late in the autumn, both that there might be time to get supplies of money from the Pope and King of Spain, and that the weather might make it difficult to brings troops from England.

The plot went on spreading, greatly encouraged by a Spanish colonel, Neil O'Neil, who had a conference with Cardinal de Richelieu on his way to Ireland, and arrived full of promises of continental support. He was sent back with an invitation to Tyrone to be in Ireland ten days before All Hallows, to join the army which was to restore him, if not make him King of Ulster.

The English Lords of the Pale had sent a deputation to the King to demand the graces that Strafford had promised them. It was graciously received, and Lord Gormanstown, who headed it, treated with special favour. At the same time, Charles, who was most unwilling to lose the services of those 8,000 men whom Strafford had trained, sent private instructions to the Earls of Ormond and Antrim to enlist them again under trustworthy officers, as if for the King of Spain, and endeavour to secure the castle of Dublin, where there were arms for 12,000 men. The officers, Theobald Taaffe, George Porter, Gerald Barry, and others, tried to obtain other men, and their plan thus became known to the conspirators in Ulster, who fancied they would make common cause with them, while on the other hand the English of the Pale began to have suspicions.

In fact, there were three parties in Ireland—the royalists, headed by Ormond, as commander-in-chief; the Parliamentarian party, favoured by the Lord Justices Parsons and Borlase; and the native Irish, with Rory O'More as their leader. The royalists, being secretly instructed by the King, did not appear to have so much right on their side as did those who held by the Lords Justices and the English Parliament, and

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Warning.

both the latter and the Irish would willingly have identified the royal party with that of the natives.

The Lords Justices and their council often received warning that there were meetings of Roman Catholic gentlemen at the houses of Sir Phelim O'Neil and Lord Macguire; Strafford would immediately have put these persons under restraint, and probably nipped the conspiracy in the bud, but Parsons only wished the rebellion to break out, so as to enable him to reap a harvest of confiscations of the estates of the leaders. Nothing was done, however, till the evening of the 2nd of October, when a gentleman named Owen O'Conolly asked to see Sir William Parsons at Chichester House. He was a Protestant, and agent to Sir John Clotworthy, but his Irish connections had fancied he would be on their side, and Hugh Og MacMahon, who was then at Dublin, had sent for him and had disclosed a scheme for seizing the Castle, as well as all the other forts, that very night, by a general rising. Parsons did not quite believe him, being probably used to such reports, and sent him back to get more from MacMahon. Borlase however was alarmed, the Council was collected, the Castle was guarded, and O'Conolly was watched for anxiously, but night came on without his appearance, and at last one of Parsons' servants met him, very tipsy, in the hands of the watch. He was brought in, though in such a condition that it was long before he could be understood, but it became known that he had found MacMahon preparing for the exploit by a revel, at which, to disarm suspicion, he had been obliged to drink so much, that when at last he managed to escape over the wall of the court, he could scarcely stand or speak. On his information, however, Macguire and MacMahon were arrested, with about thirty more persons of no consequence. Rory O'More, Hugh Byrne and Colonel Plunkett all made their escape across the river on the first alarm.

MacMahon and Macguire made full confession before the Council, and just then arrived Sir Francis Willoughby, an old soldier, and Governor of Galway. He told the Justices that he thought them in great danger in a place like Chichester House, since the population of Dublin numbered fifteen Romanists to one Protestant, and great numbers of armed strangers had been coming in all the day before. Nor were there any walls or fortifications, although there were gates, the keys of which the Council had secured!

He advised them at once to withdraw into the Castle. And there he found the whole garrison consisted of eight feeble old warders, and forty halberdiers who used to escort the Lords Justices to church. For a whole fortnight, Sir Francis never suffered the drawbridge to be let down except with all the guard present. Nor did he ever go to bed, but slept on the Council table with his head on a cushion. This prevented the first surprise, and two hundred soldiers of Strafford's army were secured for the defence, while English settlers, flying into Dublin for refuge, enabled Colonel Crawford to form a regiment for its defence.

There were constant alarms. People declared that they had actually

CAMEO XXX. — *The Rising.* 1641.

seen 10,000 men on the hill of Tara, only sixteen miles away, ready to march upon Dublin; and when an ordinary Irish row was going on in the street, a gentleman rushed into the Castle with the news that the rebels had mastered a whole quarter of the city. Many persons packed up their goods and embarked for England; but the season was so tempestuous that they were kept tossing in the Bay of Dublin, as were also 400 soldiers from Strafford's army who had been enlisted for Spain.

The rising began on the 22nd of October, with a horrible act of treachery on the part of Sir Phelim O'Neil towards Sir Toby Caulfield, a very old man, Governor of the fort of Charlemont, on the Blackwater. Sir Phelim invited himself "to come a gossiping with him," and, with the hospitality of the country, the Castle doors were unsuspiciously thrown open to all followers who might desire to carouse with the garrison. As soon as a sufficient number had thus come in, the signal was given; they turned on their hosts, and the old man, with all his family, servants and soldiers, were slaughtered at once, very few escaping, while Sir Phelim marched on and seized Dungannon.

Throughout the open country in Ulster, the little forts and houses of English or Scotch settlers were mastered by the insurgents, and all the inhabitants who could not escape were massacred, although in most cases the Irish leaders endeavoured to restrain their barbarous followers. Only Derry, Coleraine, Lisnagarvy, and Carrickfergus held out, and received the fugitives who could make their way thither. These, whenever they could, retaliated on the Irish as if they had been so many wild beasts, and it is reckoned that about 5,000 human beings were slain on each side.

The rebels, under a gentleman named Philip O'Reilly, mastered County Cavan comparatively without bloodshed, and that only in fair fight, all non-combatants, even when Protestants, being taken care of. Dr. Bedell, the aged Bishop of Kilmore, was made prisoner and shut up in Laughouter Castle, a ruinous tower in the middle of a lake, where he remained for twenty days. He was afterwards allowed to return to his own house, where he died from the hardships he had endured. He was much respected, and when the Roman Catholic prelate, who had come to take possession of his see, would fain have prevented his burial in consecrated ground, a priest, who had known his excellence, exclaimed, "Oh, may my soul be with Bedell's!" The gentlemen on the other hand, permitted the English funeral service to be used, assembled in great numbers to attend, and ended by firing a salute over his grave, shouting, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum.*"

Archbishop Ussher was in England. His country houses were plundered, but his library, plate, and jewels escaped, being in Drogheda. All the other Bishops fled to England, except Archbishop Bulkeley of Dublin, Bishops Martin of Meath, Leslie of Raphoe, Jones of Killaloe, and Webb of Limerick, the last of whom was made prisoner and died in captivity. Horrible deeds were done on the unhappy country clergy and their families. The head of one was set up on the market-cross at

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Persecution of clergy. 1641.

Kilkenny with a carrot in the mouth and a leaf of the Bible before him; another was stripped and driven with the points of swords through Cashel till he dropped down dead, others were burnt with their wives and children in their houses, others were hanged, the happiest being those who were shot or cut down at once. One, the Vicar of Urras, county Mayo, professed to become a Romanist, and was made a drummer, but was finally murdered by the rebels.

Sir Phelim O'Neil actually declared himself to hold a commission from the King, which he exhibited to all who had doubts. It professed to be under the Great Seal of Scotland, which at that moment, in the vacancy of the office, had been entrusted to the Marquis of Hamilton and by him to his kinsman, John Hamilton, also to Endymion Porter, a devoted servant of the King, and on these gentlemen, and on the King himself, suspicion was cast by a pamphlet called *The Mystery of Iniquity*; but as O'Neil ended by confessing the whole to be a forgery, they may be exonerated. The leader further called himself "The O'Neil" and Earl of Tyrone, and numbered 30,000 men in his camp. He was a weak and passionate man, unable to restrain his followers if he had wished it, and fearful cruelties were committed wherever he was leader.

The Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, in all this peril and tumult had an eye to their own interest, and issued a proclamation that the Irish Papists had formed a conspiracy against the State; but the loyal Catholic Lords of the Pale, perceiving that this was intended to include them, and cause the forfeiture of their estates, insisted on its alteration.

The terrible tidings made it needful to wind up affairs in Scotland as fast as possible. The Incident was allowed as it were to drop, the lands that had been reserved for the Bishops being given up to silence the clamourers. Hamilton, between whom and the King there was real affection, in spite of his shifty, unstable nature, declared in writing that there was nothing in the affair against the honour of the King. Montrose and the rest were released. Argyll was made a Marquis, and Leslie, Earl of Leven, the Council was agreed upon, and the Estates offered ten thousand well-trained men, under the new Earl and Monro to fight against the Irish, no doubt with double zest, since Strafford's nine thousand Irish had been intended to subdue Scotland.

Therewith the Scottish Estates broke up on the 7th of November, 1641, having fixed the time for reassembling for the June of 1644, and the King returned to England. Leven actually landed four thousand men at Carrickfergus, but they would take no orders from any but their own Government, and thus only made a fourth party of belligerents in the unfortunate island.

The Earl of Ormond and other loyal lords offered to bring their retainers to the assistance of Government, but this offer was rejected by Parsons and Borlase, who only sent out Sir Charles Coote, a ferocious soldier, to devastate the country, which he did without inquiring which districts were loyal or rebellious.

CAMEO XXX.

Decrees against Popery. 1641.

A story was current that when some humane person asked him to interfere with a brutal trooper who was carrying an infant spitted on a pike, he answered that he liked such frolics, and he was viewed with the utmost terror and detestation. A proclamation came from the King and English Parliament, granting free pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, but the Lords Justices suppressed it for a long time, and when they published it, excepted from it all who had shed blood, all who were imprisoned for robbery, and all who possessed freehold property. Also the time of grace was only to be ten days, and a complete surrender of property was required.

They tried to put off the meeting of the Irish Parliament till February, and when they found this could not legally be done, they only allowed it to sit for two days. However, terms were offered to the insurgents. They were called in the first draft, discontented gentlemen, but the Justices insisted on their being termed traitors and rebels. In consequence Rory O'More tore the letter to pieces without looking at it. The Parliament began to arrange for a representation to the King of the grievances that had really worked the mischief, but this the Justices frustrated by a prorogation.

The nobles then deputed two of their number, Lords Taaffe and Dillon to lay the matter before the King and Parliament, but they were delayed by a storm, the Lords Justices forestalled them, and they were thrown into prison as soon as they reached London. In fact, both the Lords Justices and the English Parliament only wished to drive the loyal Roman Catholics into rebellion. Those who had taken refuge in Dublin from the rebels were absolutely driven out on pain of death. On the 6th of December, 1641, the English Parliament voted that Popery was not to be tolerated in Ireland, nor in any other part of his Majesty's dominions. Sir John Clotworthy said, "Ireland was to be converted with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other;" and Pym, that they would not leave a priest in Ireland; while Sir William Parsons actually declared, at a public entertainment in Dublin: "That within a twelvemonth not a Catholic should be seen in Ireland." Thus the Roman Catholic Lords of the English Pale were absolutely driven to rebel. At the same time they judged, from the success of Covenanters in Scotland, that success and firmness on their part might force ample concessions from the King, and that the Irish Church might be crushed between them and the Covenanting settlers from Scotland, who were petitioning against Episcopacy.

The Earl of Leicester was appointed Lord Lieutenant. He was the nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, and grandson to Sir Henry Sidney, one of the most successful governors of Ireland; but he was delayed by the Parliament's insistance on authorising the warrants for pressing men to serve, and unwillingness to vote supplies to be placed in the King's hands.

Meantime Sir Henry Tichborne was threatened in Drogheda, and Sir Patrick Wemyss was sent with a body of fifty horse and 600 foot, the latter mostly new men of the despoiled English, to reinforce him. Lord

Gormanstown, who was still neutral, sent warning to Sir Patrick that 2,000 foot and 100 horse were waiting to surprise him at St. Julian's Bridge, three miles from Drogheda. No Irish, however, appeared at the bridge, and the little force had relaxed its vigilance, when the enemy fell on them, and the infantry all dispersed and broke up, throwing away their weapons.

The horse, mostly old troopers, got safe into Drogheda without losing man or beast, nor were there many killed of the runaways, owing to the shelter of a fog; but the rebels acquired more arms than they had ever had before, and an immense amount of confidence. Twenty thousand of them drew together to besiege Drogheda, and indeed such was the consternation at Dublin, that they might almost have surprised the capital itself. The Lords Justices sent for Sir Charles Coote to defend them, and on his way he dispersed 1,000 rebels. They were, however, too jealous of the Earl of Ormond, the nominal general-in-chief, to allow him any force, and they further took this moment for sending commands to all the Roman Catholic noblemen to come to Dublin to hold a consultation on the state of the country.

There was every reason for taking alarm at this summons, and suspecting that it was only a pretext for securing their persons, and prosecuting them, probably endangering their property, if not their lives. So no one appeared but Lords Kildare, FitzWilliam and Howth.

Seven more wrote a letter mentioning the reports, that they had heard that a massacre of men of their religion was intended, and saying that they feared to trust themselves, and would stand on their guard, though they were loyal and faithful servants of his Majesty. This gave fresh umbrage to the Lords Justices. Moreover Coote's men, in quest of some rebels at Buskin, murdered some innocent peasants, two Protestants among them, under pretence of their having relieved the rebels, which in fact they could hardly help doing when armed men rushed on them demanding food and shelter. A party of gentlemen being thus endangered on both sides, drew together at Swords, six miles from Dublin, and took up arms for defence. Of course this brought on them the thunders of Parsons and his fellows, and at the same time letters were sent to the seven nobles denying all intention of a massacre and inviting them to Dublin with safe conducts.

Gormanstown and his friends had, however, by this time held a conference with Rory O'More at the hill of Crofty, and demanded of him for what purpose he had taken up arms. He answered to maintain the Royal prerogative, and make the Irish as free as the English. Had he no further design? they asked, and he protesting that he had none, they promised him their hearty support, and on the 22nd of January there was a great meeting at Tara, ending in the greater number of the Lords of the Pale becoming involved in the insurrection, though the Ulster Irish hated them as much as the Lords Justices for their English blood, and were heard triumphing that "they had put a trick on the old English of the Pale, for all the old tricks they had put on them."

CAMEO XXX.

Siege of Drogheda. 1642.

They called the Palemen cowards, stole their horses, and brought them back for reward, only to steal them again, and the very priests would not say Mass in the chapels of their brethren of the Pale nor believe a word they said!

The Lords Justices had no power except in Dublin and Drogheda, which last was closely besieged. The Earl of Clanricarde, Roman Catholic but loyal, kept Galway in order, but Munster was driven into rebellion by the savage ferocity of Sir Warham St. Leger, who rivalled Coote in barbarity. Cashel was taken by a body of men under Philip O'Dwyer, who, with the help of the Roman Catholic clergy, saved the lives of all the English inhabitants but thirteen. Two Franciscan Friars even hid the intended victims under the altar of their chapel. These were Joseph Everard and Redmond, also a Jesuit named James Saul. Afterwards, at the Clonmel assizes, in 1652, they were recompensed by receiving protections from Government. Two of these at least were English. But the noblemen and gentry who had been unwillingly forced into the insurrection did their best for humanity, and protected all the Protestants whom they could save. Sir Richard Everard and Lord Muskerry filled their houses with distressed Protestants, and Lord Mountgarret shot a man of some consideration for plundering his prisoners. Mountgarret held Munster, and Lord Roche, Cork; and Drogheda was blockaded by Sir Phelim O'Neil himself, but it managed to hold out, under Sir Henry Tichborne, though the fortifications were wretched. The Earl of Ormond made an expedition for its relief, with some forces that Lord Leicester had contrived to send; but there was never a more divided country—and on the Irish side, the English-descended Romanists had only been forced into rebellion by the Lords Justices, and longed to treat with the King, while the native Irish distrusted, and hated them only less than the Protestants and longed to be at their throats. On the other hand, the Earl of Ormond, as a loyal man, ready to make peace, and act humanely, was disliked and hampered by the Lords Justices, whose real desire was to exterminate all the Romanists alike, and gave their confidence to Sir Charles Coote, and other barbarous plunderers. It is impossible to say which were the worst massacres, those perpetrated by the Irish insurgents, or by the savage soldiery. The Irish drove one hundred prisoners at the point of the pike into the river, and murdered whole families; and the orders of the English council were to burn every place where rebels had been harboured, and slay every male inhabitant, till it was the boast of Sir William Cole's regiment, that besides 2,500 men slain in skirmishes, "there were starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by the regiment, 7,000."

What an awful picture of misery, callously regarded.

Sir Charles Coote hanged a priest to whom Ormond had granted a protection, and the Lords Justices excused him. They put to the torture Hugh MacMahon, Sir John Reid, who had come with a flag of truce, and Patrick Barnwell, an old gentleman who had attended the meeting

CAMEO XXX.

Misery of Ireland.

at Crofty Hill, but they elicited nothing to serve their ends. The two moderate sections, Ormond and the Lords of the Pale, trusted that the King would come to Ireland, and obtain general submission. He earnestly desired to do so, but the Parliament, convinced that he would thus be beyond their control, and probably able to rally a force against them, prevented his going. All they chose to do was to send a small reinforcement, and raise money by reserving two millions and a half of acres from the estates of the rebels to repay those who advanced it, thus increasing the desperation of the unhappy Lords of the Pale. Lord Gormanstown died of a broken heart, and war smouldered on. Ormond gained a victory at Kilrush in county Kildare and also broke up the siege of Drogheda, but was too destitute of supplies to do anything more, and there was a succession of skirmishes, attacks on country houses and towns, and therewith murder, famine, desolation and destitution year after year, throughout the miserable country. A Scottish force was holding Ulster down, but against the will of the English Parliament, who were afraid the province might be claimed as a Scottish right. In fact no one had leisure to attend to Irish affairs, and the people were free to tear one another to pieces.

CAMEO XXXI.

PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT.

(1641—1642.)

England.
1625. Charles I.

Germany.
1637. Ferdinand III.

France.
1610. Louis XIII.

Spain.
1621. Philip IV.

Pope.
1623. Urban VIII.

CAMEO XXXI. — *Return of Charles.* 1641.

THE Irish Rebellion as well as the meeting of Parliament brought the King home from the North. A loyal Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Gurney, had freshly come into office, and when Charles returned to London on the 25th of November, 1641, the whole civic procession went out to receive him in state. The Prince of Wales rode by his side, and the Queen and little children were in a state carriage; all seemed well, and Charles was feasted at a grand banquet at the Guildhall. His hopes were strong that the tide was beginning to turn in his favour, and indeed the moderate men felt satisfied with the redress of grievances, and unwilling to press the Crown further. The more violent, however, not only had further ends to gain, but were by no means satisfied that the King might not, if left at leisure, prosecute them for their former factious proceedings, and were resolved to push matters further.

They therefore drew up what was called "The Great Remonstrance" on the state of the nation. It began by setting forth that there had been a coalition of wicked nobles, Papists and Arminian Bishops to subvert the liberties of the nation, and enumerated all the former grievances together with their own exertions to remedy them, including the execution of Strafford and prosecution of the Archbishop, and finally declaring that all their best efforts were frustrated by a combination of the malignant favourites at court with the popish lords, and ill-affected Bishops in the House of Lords.

This was brought forward on the 22nd of November. The House had been sitting since 8 A.M., and at noon had broken up for dinner. On meeting again the Remonstrance was called for. Lord Falkland and others would have put it off to another day. Oliver Cromwell demanded why, and Falkland said it was too late in the day, as there

CAMEO XXXI.

The Great Remonstrance. 1641.

would certainly be a debate. "A very sorry one," said Cromwell, who thought it would have been carried easily, but there was a strong opposition, and the debate lasted not only all day, but till two o'clock at night, so that the less robust of the members were worn out, and were gone home before the division took place, and then it was carried by a majority of only nine. Cromwell had declared that if the Remonstrance had been defeated, he should have sold his property and taken his family to America. No doubt half of the Remonstrance was dictated by hatred to the Church, the other half by desire to obtain some safeguard that, in the case of a reaction, the King should not resume what he held to have been illegally forced from him, and treat the past resistance as treason.

Sir Ralph Hopetown brought the Remonstrance to Charles on the 1st of December. He read it over and demurred at the supposed malignant faction. Then he came to a proposal to grant the lands of the Irish rebels to those who should put them down. "Catch the bear before selling his skin," he said. He asked several questions, but Hopetown said he had no liberty to answer him. He then asked if this petition was to be published, and Sir Ralph again refused to answer, though the Commons had a copy ready for instant publication.

His answer was drawn up by Hyde, pointing out that the grievances had been redressed, declaring that he meant to maintain all the just rights of his subjects, and among them the seats of the Bishops in Parliament, and he maintained that he ought to have the free choice of his ministers.

The printing of the Remonstrance had been at first rejected. It was now passed, and it had a powerful effect on the country, who took all for granted, and had not seen the declaration that the King was preparing.

Charles now thought it well that the Lieutenant of the Tower should be a person less inclined to the Parliament than Sir William Balfour. No one had ever thought of interfering with this appointment, which came direct from the Crown, but the Commons thought proper to demand the cause of Balfour's dismissal, and petition the King on his behalf. This Charles disregarded, but his choice of a successor was unfortunate, for owing to an unexplained recommendation of Lord Digby's it fell on Sir Thomas Lunsford, a man whose attachment to the Crown might be trusted, but who was dissolute, violent, and irreligious, and naturally distrusted and dreaded by the Londoners. The merchants who sent their gold to the Tower to be coined, thought he might lay violent hands on it, and a request was sent to the Constable, Lord Newport, that he would always sleep there. The Commons petitioned the King to remove Lunsford and he did so substituting Sir John Byron.

The Lords, however, had declined to join in the petition, thinking that the Tower was undeniably the King's own. This strengthened the

CAMEO XXXI.

Popular Riots. 1641.

growing dislike to the influence of the Bishops in the Upper House. Moreover, the Commons had passed a bill authorising the raising of 10,000 men to serve under the Earl of Leicester in Ireland, but the Lords were slow to pass it, and it was felt to be a critical matter, since by it the Parliament would be acknowledged to have the power of levying troops, and this the King could not allow to pass out of his own hands. He sent down a message promising to confirm the bill on condition that a proviso were added, securing the claims and privileges of the Crown. This raised a fresh storm for it was held to be unauthorised interference with a measure before it was sent up to the King. He could plead that the Plantagenets had done the like, but little did any one reck of Plantagenet habits except when it was convenient to suppose that there had then been a golden age of parliaments, which was about to be restored. The Lords were as much affronted as the Commons, and the measure halted on its way.

All this time there were tremendous uproars in the streets of London. On the disbanding of the army of the North, the guard round the Houses of Parliament had likewise been broken up by the King, but the members either were, or supposed themselves to be, in danger from plots of Popish recusants, Irish rebels, and malignants, as they called the Queen's friends, who certainly were not always reputable, and were given to intrigues like those of Paris.

A disorderly rabble, chiefly consisting of apprentice boys, took upon themselves the guardianship of the Commons, and fulfilled it by howling at, and assaulting, every person of whom they disapproved, and the Bishops were especially obnoxious in their eyes, both on account of the notions of prelacy so diligently disseminated, and because their votes in the House of Lords were on the royal side. On his way from Scotland, Charles had translated Williams to York, and Ussher to Carlisle, and filled up four more sees, which was said to be for the sake of votes. A bill for the expulsion of Bishops from Parliament had passed the Commons, and was actually before the Lords. In the words of Butler's *Hudibras*—

> "The oyster women locked their fish up,
> And trudged away to cry 'No Bishop.'
> Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
> And fell to turn and patch the Church.
> Some cried 'The Covenant' instead
> Of pudding-pies or ginger-bread;
> Instead of kitchen stuff, some cry
> 'A Gospel-preaching ministry;'
> And some, for old suits, coats or cloak,
> 'No surplices or service book.'"

On one Monday morning, as Archbishop Williams was on his way to Westminster with the Earl of Dover, he was surrounded and hemmed in by this scurrilous mob, shouting "No Bishop." He was provoked to lay hold of one of the foremost and worst, whereupon the whole host, many of them with swords as well as clubs, rescued their comrade, and hemmed in the Bishop with furious cries.

CAMEO XXXI.

Roundhead.

David Hide, a soldier recently appointed to some command in Ireland, came to the Archbishop's help, sword in hand, and shouting that he would cut the throat of these Roundhead dogs who cried out against Bishops. The Archbishop escaped unhurt, but Hide was overpowered, disarmed, and dragged before the Commons, who cashiered him for the offence of drawing his sword against a foulmouthed rabble in defence of an old man!

The honour of the invention of the term Roundhead lies between Hide and the Queen. It is said that the Court adopted it because, looking out of the window at one of these mobs, she exclaimed "Oh! what a handsome young Roundhead." At any rate it became the nickname of the party from the cropped heads of their rank and file, the 'prentices, since the gentlemen dressed like others of their degree. On that same Monday, Colonel Lunsford and thirty or forty of his comrades, by way of counter-demonstration, swaggered through the streets, whereupon hundreds of Londoners rushed out armed with clubs and swords, and surrounded Westminster with loud cries. The Lords sent out and bade them depart in the King's name, but they answered that they could not, because Lunsford and his crew were lying in wait. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs appeased this tumult with difficulty, and the King, who was at Whitehall, called out the train bands to defend the palace.

Williams, who was Dean of Westminster, the next day tried to examine some of the apprentices, but this brought an assault on the Abbey, the mob shouting that they would destroy the organ and the tombs of the kings. The Regalia were also kept there, and Williams had to summon all the servants of the Abbey together. They closed the doors, mounted the leads, and defended themselves with stones, whereby a gentleman called Sir Richard Wiseman was killed, as he certainly deserved for his sacrilegious attempt.

On the 27th of December the rabble surrounded the House of Lords, and many of them penetrated into the outer hall, roaring that they would tear the Bishops to pieces. The King sent a proclamation to them to disperse, but it only made them more violent, and when darkness came on, the Marquis of Hertford came to the Bishops, and told them they were in great danger, for the mob were vowing to search every coach for them with torches, so that they could not escape. A message was sent to the Commons to interfere, but as their emissaries had stirred up this most disgraceful tumult, of course they would not meddle. At last the Earl of Manchester, who belonged to the popular party, undertook to see the Archbishop of York safely to his house, and the others succeeded in making their way home in the dark by various by-ways.

The next day Williams assembled all his episcopal brethren whom he could bring together in his deanery, and there drew up a protest that, as they were an integral part of the constitution, and were debarred by violence from attending Parliament, every measure passed during their

CAMEO XXXI.

Protest of the Bishops.

enforced absence would be invalid. Eleven prelates, besides the Archbishop himself, signed this, and it was perfectly legal.

It was, however, like everything else, mismanaged. It ought to have been presented to the King in the House of Lords, but Williams took it privately to Charles to ask his opinion on it, and he, being afraid of the bill for the exclusion of the Bishops being passed before it was made, sent it off at once to the House by Lord Keeper Littleton, who read it, doing all in his power to inflame his hearers against the presumption of the Lords Spiritual.

Information was sent to the Commons, who were secretly delighted, but pretended to be in a fury, and actually, in half-an-hour's time, impeached all the twelve of high treason. Great was the dismay of the poor Bishops, who had trusted Williams as a good lawyer, and had not supposed the document to have gone out of his hands, to find themselves all summoned as traitors, and forced to appear on their knees at the bar of the House. At eight o'clock on a cold frosty night, the 30th of December, they were all sent off to the Tower, except those of Durham and Lichfield, who being old and infirm, were committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, the foolish populace, meanwhile, rejoicing with bonfires and ringing of bells.

Still, there was so little cause for their apprehension that the Commons failed in finding anything to indict them for. Even when their offence was reduced to misdemeanor, the lawyers could find no ground for prosecution, but it was not till after six weeks that they were released, and then only on bail, and the Commons objecting, they were imprisoned again till May.

Still, though their protest brought all this present trouble on them, it assisted in invalidating the other arbitrary proceedings of the Long Parliament.

All these tumults made Charles grant a guard to the Parliament, but he intended to appoint it himself, and this was the last thing that the Commons desired, so they only had halberds stored in the House wherewith to defend themselves.

Charles further strengthened himself by taking as his Secretary of State the moderate but loyal Lord Falkland, and making Sir John Colpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Edward Hyde thought he could be more useful to him out of office. The adherence of such men as these, and the general opinion that the needful reforms had been granted, made him believe that the time had come for stemming the current of revolution, and that the arrest of the foremost leaders would put an end to encroachments of the Commons. The impeachment by the Crown of factious members had been frequent in all the preceding reigns; he was perfectly within the rights established by precedent, but the temper of the times was utterly changed. The six whom he had decided to be most disloyal were Lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Hampden, Pym and Stroud, among the Commons. He had been much discomposed by hearing that there was an intention

CAMEO XXXI.

Attempted arrest of the Members. 1642.

of impeaching the Queen, and by the advice of Lord Digby, he made up his mind to take the strongest measures. In the treaty with the Scots, it had been stipulated that he would bury in forgetfulness all acts of English members connected with the coming of the Scottish army that could be considered treasonable, so that he certainly should have confined his indictment to their actions since his return, but though these proved their temper, they were not held as sufficiently overt acts of sedition.

On the 3rd of January, 1642, the Attorney-General Herbert came to the House of Lords, and standing by the clerk's table, demanded the surrender of the six persons he named, reading the charges against them—first, that they had endeavoured to subvert the laws of the realm, and deprive the King of power; secondly, that they had endeavoured to alienate the affections of the nation from the King by many foul aspersions; thirdly, that they had endeavoured to draw his Majesty's late army into disobedience; fourthly, that they had invited a foreign power—*i.e.* the Scotch—to invade the kingdom; fifthly, that they had endeavoured to subvert the rights and nature of Parliament; sixthly, that they had raised tumults in order to practise intimidation; seventhly, that they had levied war against the King.

The third and fourth of these ought to have been omitted, as covered by the act of oblivion in the Scottish treaty; but all were facts, and treasonable from the King's point of view, though patriotic from that of the country party.

Lord Kimbolton stood up in his place, and demanded a public hearing. No one ventured to move his arrest; but the peers appointed a committee to consider of the matter, really meaning to gain time, and see what the Commons were going to do.

The Serjeant-at-arms made the same accusation in the House of Commons, and it was answered through Lord Falkland that the matter should be taken into consideration; but it was plain in what spirit this would be done, for the seals that the Serjeant-at-arms put on the papers of the five members were broken by order of the House. On learning this, the King sent private orders to the persons on whom he could depend to be ready to attend him. They of course would wear their swords, a necessary part of the equipment of a gentleman. He had made up his mind to appear suddenly at the House, and personally demand the surrender of the five members. It was reported that the Queen urged him, saying, "Go, cowards, and pull those traitors out by the ears!" This was, however, probably only party scandal.

What Henrietta Maria really did, she confessed long after to Madame de Motteville with great compunction. Her chief favourite and companion at the time was Lucy Percy, a daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. When her father had been in custody in the Tower, this lady had visited, not only him, but the wicked Frances Howard, first Countess of Essex, and then of Somerset, by whom she had been

CAMEO XXXI.

The King's appearance at the House. 1642.

corrupted. She eloped with the worthless Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and was long in disgrace; but she was very beautiful, with dark eyes and an ivory complexion, and by and by won favour in the light and lively suite of Henrietta.

When the King set forth from Whitehall on his way to Westminster, he said to the Queen, "If one hour passes without hearing ill news from me, you will see me, when I return, master of my kingdom."

Henrietta sat in her chamber with her watch in her hand, and as soon as the hour was over, she exclaimed, "Rejoice with me, for at this hour the King is master of his kingdom! Pym and his fellows are arrested by this time."

She little thought that Lady Carlisle was on lover-like terms with Pym, and acted as his spy. Hoping that the warning might not yet be too late, the Countess sent off a messenger, and the Queen always reproached her own impatience as the cause of the failure; but there is reason to think that the Commons already knew that something of the kind was intended. They had spent the forenoon in affirming their privileges, and stigmatising the accusation as a scandalous paper. They dined at twelve, and had met again, when Captain Langrish brought word that the King was coming with a guard of some two hundred gentlemen. He had been hindered on his way by people presenting petitions, and there had been time for Lady Carlisle's messenger to arrive; besides that, Langrish had seen the cavalcade in the streets.

To use the halberds or their own swords in resisting the Sovereign would have been an outrage for which the world was not prepared, so the rest of the House requested the five members to withdraw. Four did so readily, but Stroud declared that he would stay and confront the King, and his friend Sir Walter Earle pulled him out by force just as the King was entering New Palace Yard. Charles, with his nephew, Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine in name, walked up a lane formed by his adherents, and entering the House, glanced round, then coming towards the Speaker, said "Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair for a little while." The House had commanded Lenthall to sit still, with the mace before him, but he could not withstand this. He fell on his knees, the mace was removed, and Charles sat down while the whole assembly stood up bareheaded. He made a short speech to the effect that he was sorry for the cause of his coming, that no man could be more mindful of the privileges of his Commons than he, but these privileges did not avail in cases of high treason. He therefore demanded that the five members should be given up to him, and asked where they were.

Lenthall on his knees declared that he had no tongue to speak but as the House directed.

"Well," said Charles, "I see the birds are flown, but I do expect from you that you do send them me as soon as they do return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

CAMEO XXXI.
—
Failure.
1642.

He withdrew, while shouts of "Privilege, Privilege," resounded in his ears, having mortally offended the Parliament. Reports were afloat of the swaggering of his gentlemen, how one, with a pistol in his hand, said, "Only show me the mark and I shall not miss my aim;" and another, "Let them be brought out and hanged." Whether true or not, these stories exasperated and terrified the people to the greatest extent. The five members were reported to be in a house in Coleman Street in the City, where Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford offered to go and bring them by force, but Charles rejected this offer, and decided on going himself with no guard at all the next day to the Guildhall to demand their surrender from the Lord Mayor. The populace surged and thronged his coach shouting "Privilege of Parliament," and one man even threw in at the window a pamphlet of his own composition entitled, "To your tents, O Israel."

He was received in the Common Council room, where he explained his purpose of arresting the persons guilty of treasonable practices, and said that he understood that they were "shrouded" in the City, so that he requested the assistance of the municipality in having them brought to justice. He further disclaimed all attempts to establish Popery; but a man named Fowke, newly elected to the council, who had not yet taken his seat there, made his way in and uttered a violent speech, to which the King replied that all he desired was to give these gentlemen a fair trial, without which there could be no safety for anybody. No promises were made, but the King dined with Sheriff Garrett, a Presbyterian, and afterwards the Lord Mayor and Aldermen escorted him to Temple Bar through another scurrilous mob, which fell on them so furiously on their return that they were pulled off their horses, and had to go home on foot, and a woman robbed the Lord Mayor of his gold chain.

Parliament had adjourned for a week, but a committee made heavy complaints that stores had been taken from the Tower to strengthen the defences of Whitehall. It was no wonder these had been called for, since the mob daily raged and raved under the windows, with staves in their hands, bearing white papers inscribed "Liberty."

The Commons invited back the threatened members, and all the apprentices offered to escort them. What became of their business does not appear, but the offer was refused, though that of a thousand sailors to protect their passage by water was accepted. "I wonder," said the King, "what has lost me the affection of those water-rats?" Such constant disturbances made it impossible to keep the Queen and her children any longer at Whitehall, and on the 10th of January, the day before the reassembling of Parliament, the King, Queen and their children went to Hampton Court, escorted by a couple of hundred armed gentlemen with Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford, never to re-enter London save in strangely altered circumstances.

The City was kept in constant alarm by all sorts of absurd reports of

CAMEO XXXI.

Insults. 1642.

attacks by Papists and foreigners; and on the 11th of January, when the House sat again, the five members were escorted on the river by 2,000 armed watermen in boats, by trained bands, with eight pieces of cannon on each bank of the river, and 4,000 horsemen from Hampden's county, Buckingham; while, as they passed Whitehall, now empty, revilings were launched against the King, and cries that he ought to be deposed in favour of the Prince.

At the same time so much jealousy was excited by the mere fact of Digby, Lunsford, and their two hundred having assembled to guard the King, and afterwards gone to find quarters in Kingston where was a magazine of arms, that Parliament sent out orders to all the sheriffs to prevent unlawful assemblages of armed men! Lunsford was actually seized and committed to the Tower, and Digby escaped to Holland, bringing orders from the King to Admiral Pennington to take him thither. The Commons considered it not high treason to threaten the King, it was only high treason to protect him.

This party considered a King as merely the chief magistrate of the State, accountable thereto, but whereas this doctrine, though philosophical, was perfectly new, they could not reasonably expect either him or his supporters to acquiesce in it, and to believe that what would once have been loyalty had become treason. Moreover, the Commons passed a Bill declaring it illegal to arrest one of them for any cause whatever! They also sent a demand to the King to dismiss Sir John Byron from the government of the Tower; and till this should be done, they placed a guard round it, under the command of Colonel Skippon, a brave officer, trained under Gustavus Adolphus, but harsh, rude, and stern. They sent orders to Sir George Goring at Portsmouth, to allow no arms or ammunition to be taken from it, and despatched Sir John Hotham to Hull with the like orders.

Charles tried to pacify the Commons by offering a free pardon to the members, but they disdained it, and the answer was a call for the names of his advisers as traitors. When he refused to remove Sir John Byron, a fresh disturbance was raised in London, where the people were taught to think themselves in danger from the garrison. Crowds of every class came to Westminster with petitions—even women. Skippon tried to get them to retire, but they cried, "Let us be heard, or for one woman that is here to-day, there will be five hundred to-morrow."

The Commons desired Skippon to persuade them to retire, and they did so, but they came back again a few days later, and Mrs. Stagg, a brewer's wife, spoke for them, bringing a petition stating their grievances, and declaring that they like men had souls to be saved, and that they suffered as much from oppressions as men did. "King Pym," as he began to be called, was deputed to answer them, which he did by advising them to let their future petitions be prayers to the Almighty, and assuring them that the Commons were doing their best for their protection, upon which they retired in silence.

The two Bills had passed the Commons for excluding the Bishops

CAMEO XXXI.
—
The Journey to Dover.
1642.

from Parliament, and for putting the power of calling out the militia into their own hands. The Peers delayed to sanction these, but between the howls of the multitude and the threats of the Commons they yielded, and passed them both.

Meantime, Charles and Henrietta were on their way to Dover. Their little Mary, long ago married to the heir of Orange, was twelve years old, and the Queen had determined to take her to her young husband, and raise money in Holland to enable the King to recover his authority by force of arms. Her plate had been melted to obtain means for the journey, and all the jewels she could muster were packed in the baggage to be sold abroad.

At Canterbury, Charles was overtaken by messengers bearing the two bills for his ratification. He was sorely troubled; Lord Falkland advised him to grant both; Sir John Colpepper recommended him to give up the Bishops, but not the militia, observing that all might be regained by the sword, and measures extorted by force were not valid and could be disowned.

"Is this Mr. Hyde's advice?" said the King.

"No," said Hyde; "I think neither bill should be passed."

"You are right," said Charles; "and thus I shall act."

Colpepper thereupon went to the Queen, and urged on her that to affront the nation at such a moment would probably lead to her journey being stopped, and that the only hope for the future lay in the recourse to the sword for which she was to find means. Henrietta of course cared nothing for English Bishops, and again set herself to persuade the King against his conscience. After all the political power of the Bishops was not spiritual, and he gave up this point, and empowered the Commissioners to give his consent to the bill. He also removed Byron, and gave the command of the Tower to Sir John Conyers, but he would not pass the militia bill, nor give up his right to the choice of officers.

On the 23rd of February, 1642, Henrietta took leave of him, and sailed from Dover with her daughter, and he, as she told Madame de Motteville, rode four leagues along the coast watching her vessel—containing the child he was never to see again. The Queen reached Flushing in fifteen hours; but it was a long and weary way along the coast, and not till the first of March was it possible to land at Hannslerdike, where the Prince of Orange met them, with a salute of seventy cannon. The young bridegroom had previously joined them, and they were escorted to the Hague, where Henrietta for the first time met her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, attended by Prince Rupert and some of her many daughters.

Great honour was shown to the Queen and her daughter by the Prince of Orange, who never approached even their house without doffing his hat, and arranged banquets and triumphal arches enough to displease the States-General, who were exceedingly jealous of any assumption of sovereign power by the House of Nassau.

CAMEO XXXI.

Demands of the Commons. 1642.

At Dover, the King received a paper containing a list of the deputy-lieutenants for each county, which he was called on to sanction, instead of himself, as heretofore, nominating them. He put it off, but a more urgent message met him at Canterbury together with tidings that the Commons were prosecuting the Attorney-General for having obeyed his orders by accusing the five members; that they had forbidden that his eldest son should accompany him to York, whither he had intended to take him, and that they had intercepted and opened a letter from Lord Digby to the Queen.

He showed much displeasure at these unprecedented insults, but made no decisive answer, until at Greenwich the Marquis of Hertford brought the Prince of Wales to him in defiance of the orders of the Parliament. Then, when his family were secure, he sent answer that the militia might be under the command of those gentlemen named, provided he reserved the right of changing them, and that the principal towns were exempted, and he then proceeded slowly towards York. At Theobalds twelve Commissioners overtook him to declare that the Commons had voted his answer to be a denial, and that unless he retracted, they should dispose of the militia without his consent, and that his return to London could alone prevent the evils with which the country was threatened.

"I am so much amazed at this message," he said, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears. Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies." He declared that he had granted all he could with honour respecting the militia, and even added, "For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall. Ask yourselves whether I have not."

He proceeded, but was overtaken again by fresh messengers at Newmarket, among them Lords Pembroke and Holland, and the following conversation was afterwards reported.

"What would you have?" said Charles. "Have I violated your laws? Have I refused to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me. If there are any among you who still retain any fears, I offer as free a pardon as you yourselves can desire."

"But the militia, sir," said Lord Holland.

"The militia! I did not refuse it."

"If your Majesty would at least return near the Parliament."

"You do nothing that can induce me to return. Do you think your declaration likely to persuade me? You did not find such arts of persuasion in Aristotle's rhetoric."

"The Parliament," said Lord Pembroke, "has already begged of your Majesty to return."

"Your declaration proves that your words are not to be regarded."

"Will your Majesty deign to tell us what you desire before you can return."

CAMEO XXXI.

Decision of Charles. 1642.

"I would have a child in Westminster school whipped who could not discover in my answer what I meant."

"Would it not be possible to put the militia in the power of Parliament at least for a limited time?"

"No! not for an hour! You require in that what was never before required of a king. What I would not grant to my wife or children." Then he added, "The business of Ireland will never be settled by the means which you have chosen. An assembly of four hundred persons will never do it. It must be entrusted to the care of one man. If I had the management, I would pledge my life that it should be settled. I am now but a beggar, yet I could find money to execute it."

In this conference the die was cast. The turning point had come between peace and war.

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THE END.

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